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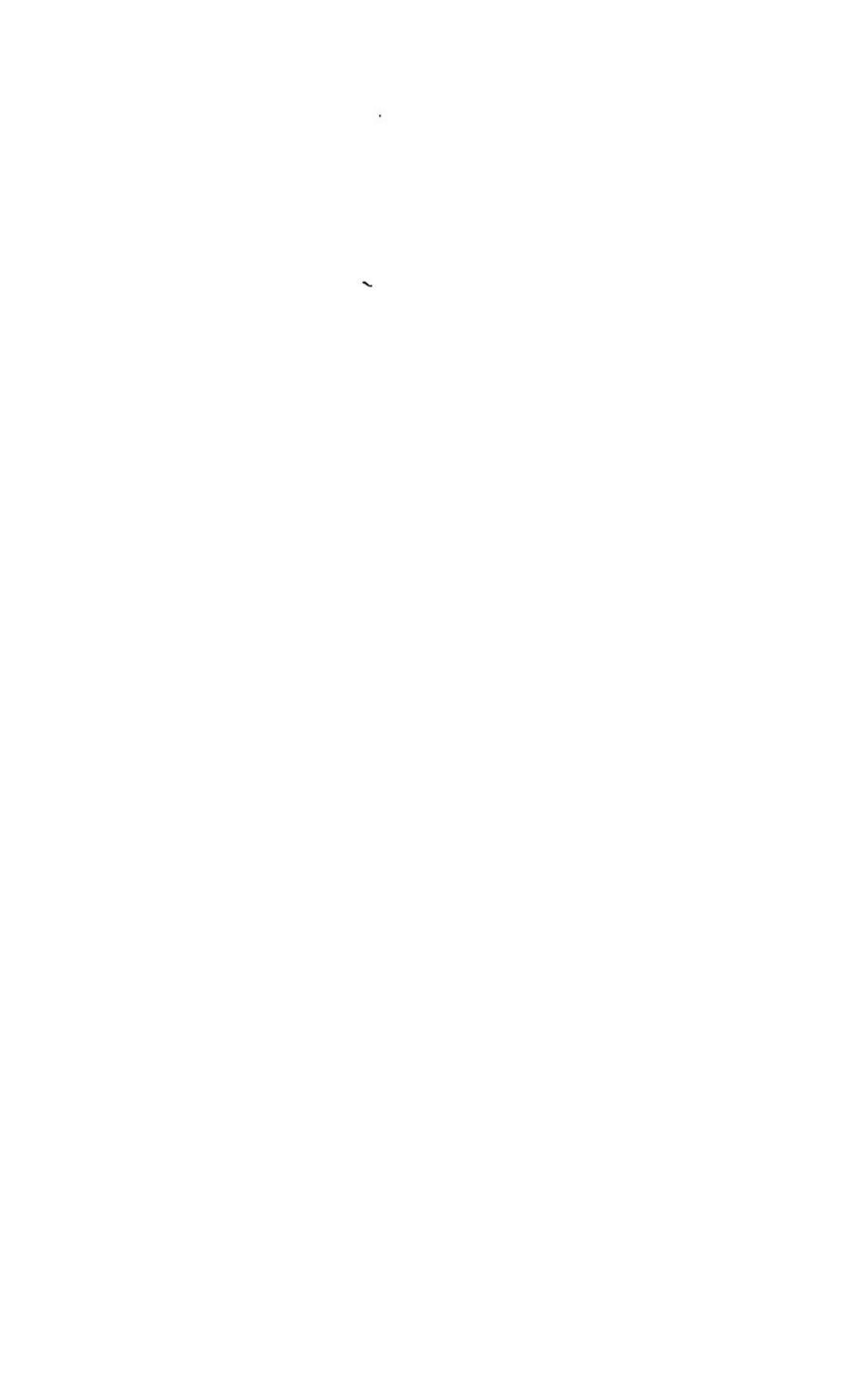
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WITH SKETCHES OF SOCIETY IN

THE METROPOLIS.

BY J. FENIMORE COOPER, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF

"THE PILOT," "THE SPY," "EXCURSIONS IN SWITZERLAND," &c.

SECOND EDITION.

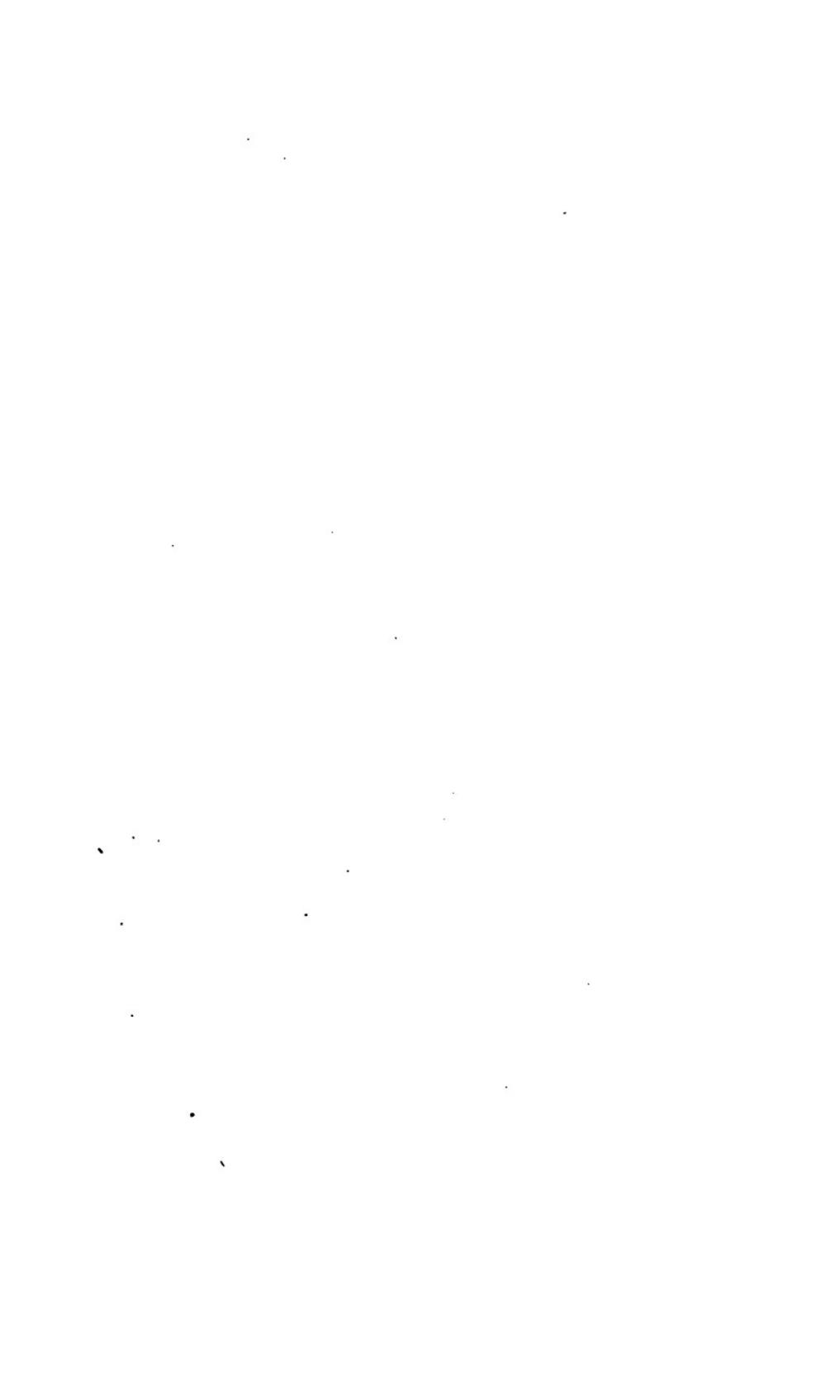
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E N G L A N D.

LETTER XXII.

TO JACOB SUTHERLAND, ESQUIRE.

English Prejudice.—Misrepresentations.—National Abasement.—Jealousy of America.—Unfriendly Feeling.—English Loyalty.—Social Drilling.—English and French Servants.—English and American Seamen.—Subordination.—Gradations in Society.—Declaration of War.—Established Religion.—Duelling Clergymen.—Young Napoleon.—Strange Opinion.—Vulgar Prejudices.—Absurd Accusation.—National Conceit.—Deportment of Congress.—Prejudice against America.—Literary Empiricism.—National Peculiarities.

I HAVE had a singular conversation with a foreigner. This person is a cosmopolite, a ——— by birth, who has lived much in England and America, and our discourse had reference to the opinions and expectations that prevail here concerning our own

national character and national destiny. As my companion had no doubts as to the manner in which his communication would be received, he spoke without reserve.

He commenced by saying that a very general impression existed in England that the man of America was not equally gifted in mind with the man of Europe. This is merely the old opinion continued to our own times, and I was fully aware of its existence. Captain Hall, when he says that there is *no want of natural ability* in the American people, but that their deficiencies proceed from defective educations, is merely addressing his remark to this prejudice. Almost every English traveller, who has written of the republic, betrays the existence of the same notion, in some way or other : but it is so easy for an American, who is not completely blinded by national vanity, to as-

certain these truths, by concealing his origin, while travelling in the stage coaches, that to me it is matter of surprise any one who has visited England should be ignorant of them.

Almost every American, whose name reaches this country, in consequence of its being connected with anything that is thought creditable, is incontinently claimed as an expatriated European. You can have no notion of the extent to which this prejudice is carried. I do assure you, that I have myself heard a respectable man, here, affirm that, in one of the counties of England, he had been a school-fellow of Washington, before the latter emigrated ! Mr. Irving figures in biographical notices, here, as a native of Devonshire, and even my own humble claims have not been overlooked, as by a sketch of a pretended life, which now lies on my table, my origin is traced to the Isle of Man, and in an el-

borated sort of Blue Book, which contains a list of English writers, I find myself enrolled among men who have far more reason to be ashamed of me than I have to be ashamed of them. I have been asked quite lately, if Macdonough were not an Irishman, and I believe my affirmation that poor Allen, who was killed in the Argus, was an American, was absolutely discredited. I met with an assertion, some time since, in one of the journals here, that "Commodore Rodgers was a Scotch baker, of the name of Gray!" The periodical publications of the day are filled with spurious histories of most of our distinguished men during the revolution, replete with the usual scurrility and untruths; and even the last war brought with it the same touches of amiable veracity.

The national prejudices of England are freely commented on by all other people.

Prejudice, however, belongs to man rather than to communities, and I am inclined to think France has almost as many as this country, though they are of a different quality, and are infinitely better cloaked. In making this comparison, I always except the subject of America, for that is a point on which an Englishman usually ceases altogether to be either just or discerning.

One of the traits which the English attribute to us, is a greater disposition than common to lie. I have no hesitation in saying, that this nation deems our own, addicted to this vice, altogether out of the ordinary way. On this point there can be no mistake, for Captain Hall, Mr. De Roos, and several other recent writers, even by exonerating us from the charge, betray its existence ; but we have high clerical authority for it, that will settle the matter. I quote Bishop Heber ; he

is speaking of the American sailors. "They are not so grievously addicted to lying as they were once said to be. *They have less animosity against the English than formerly, and their character seems to have recovered its natural English tone.*" Dr. Heber might have been puzzled to explain in what the *natural* English character differs from any other, on principles that would harmonize with the Thirty-nine Articles, of which, I believe, we possess a tolerably accurate copy in our own church ; but putting orthodoxy out of the question, and not descending to a too rigid construction of words, how was this notion of the American people, and especially of their seamen, obtained ? I think I can explain it.

The English were accustomed to consider themselves the most skilful mariners of the earth. When their American competitors boasted of their own ships, that

they could outsail those of England, and that their general qualities were better, verifying all by alleged facts, the latter, as a matter of course, were deemed lies. Were a hundred English ship-masters to assert to-day, that their vessels could out-sail ours, the American seamen would have no more charity, but at once set them down as dealers in fiction. During the long wars our shipping was the prey of the belligerents,—the English, as the most numerous, doing it the most harm; vexing commerce, by impressing the seamen, and as often carrying off the native as their own subjects. These acts created a bitter feeling, and the American government, influenced by a miserable penny-saving policy, which cost more in the end than a prompt resistance, almost abandoned the seamen to themselves, writing long diplomatic notes, instead of arming. I know, by personal observation, that many

of our ship-masters of that day boasted they had misled English squadrons and cruisers by false information, for it was the only means they had of avenging themselves.

Conversing with Mr. ——, he informed me that, for some time, an acquaintance of ours, a captain in the British navy, was supposed to have been killed in the attack on Fort Bowyer. On my asking how the information had been obtained, he quite unconsciously answered — “ Oh ! it was only the report of an American captain.” I laughed at him for this confession, and he frankly admitted that an opinion prevailed in England that the American ship-masters were greater liars than usual.

Our facts are astounding, and when related, appear marvellous to foreigners. *Au reste*, the Americans, more particularly those of New England, are a gossiping people, and though the gossip may not be

a liar, he necessarily circulates much untruth. In this manner, the American lies with his tongue, while the rest of the world lie only in their thoughts. But lying is one of the commonest vices of humanity.

It is fortunate that Providence has reserved us for the justice of another state of being, for it is certain there is very little in this. Here is a nation, that, if a civil agent of its own arrest John Doe for Richard Roe, punishes him severely, throwing the *onus* of the proof of guilt on the minister of the law, but which goes out of its own jurisdiction to demand of foreigners proofs of innocence; failing of which, it lays violent hands on them, exposes them to mutilation and death, in a quarrel in which they have no concern, and then vilifies them by way of atonement!

This is bad enough, certainly, but it is by no means the worst feature in the affair. Men, in the condition of gentlemen, have

been found among the oppressed to justify the wrong ; for you and I are both old enough, distinctly to remember the time when England was loudly and openly vindicated by a party at home, in a course that set all national honour and national justice at defiance. It is said, that the world presents nothing new ; that all its current incidents are merely new phases of old events ; but really it sometimes seems to me, that the history of man has never before presented so strong an instance of national abasement, as is to be found in the feelings, language, reasoning, and acts of a very large portion of what are called the better classes of the American people, towards Great Britain. Of all burthens, that of the mental dependance created by colonial subserviency appears to be the most difficult to remove. It weighs upon us yet like an incubus, and, apart from matters of gain, in which we have all our

eyes about us, and apart from party politics, in which men will "follow their leaders, though it be to the devil," there is not an American, in my opinion, at this moment, of sufficient note fairly to attract foreign comment, who does not hold his reputation at home entirely at the mercy of Great Britain. We do not see this fact ourselves, but strangers do, and deride us for the weakness. We have, indeed, reason to thank God, that the portion of the nation which constitutes its bone and muscle, although of no account in its floating opinions, is so purely practical, so stubborn in its nationality, so right-thinking, at least in the matters that come properly and fairly before it, and so little likely to be influenced to its destruction !

Another of the notions that exists in England, is that of the hostility of America to Great Britain. All the recent travellers among us frankly admit that they see no

evidence of such a feeling, but of one quite to the contrary. I have frequently told my friends here that, in my opinion, and it is an opinion formed from a good deal of observation, *in no other country are the English looked upon with as friendly eyes as in the United States of America*. I feel as certain of this fact as I do of any other moral truth at which I believe myself to have arrived by investigation and travelling. I do not think that I have succeeded, however, in convincing a single individual.

A few of the public writers here affect to maintain that there is no general inimical sentiment or prejudice in England against the United States, with the Edinburgh Review at their head. It might as well be denied that the sun appears in the east and sets in the west. The feeling is as apparent as the day; it mingles with every thought, colours every concession, and even tempers the charities. Every American

established in the country asserts it, all travellers believe it, even Captain Hall and other writers confess it, and four out of five on the spot, when circumstances induce frankness, admit it. Let us look for the reasons of these contradictory feelings in the two nations.

In the collisions between the two people, in the main, America has won and England has lost. The winner is usually complacent, the loser soured. In America, facts have preceded opinion, and so far from there being a tendency to aid the first by appeals to prejudices, the disposition has been to retard them by comparisons favourable to the old system. The very opposite of this state of things exists in England. Power, in America, has nothing to apprehend from English example, while power, in England, has much to apprehend from the example of America. This reason applies with peculiar force to the church in

England, which ought to be the first to foster the charities. It is natural for a young people to look back with affection to their ancestry, and to the country from which they sprung, and it is human for those in possession of advantages that once were exclusive, to look forward with distrust to the fortunes of a vigorous competitor that has arisen from their own stock.

These reasons might suffice, but there are others, which, though less evident, have perhaps been more active in producing the unfriendly feeling in England. In this country, it should always be remembered, there is a contradiction between the theory of the government and its facts. By the first the sovereign possesses an authority that is denied him in practice. No well-informed man really thinks that the King of England, of his own free will, could declare war, for instance; and yet the com-

mentators will tell you he may. In curbing his authority, the aristocracy is compelled to keep in view the nation, and the principal means that have been resorted to for influencing it have been to act on its prejudices. Nothing has struck me more forcibly, here, than the manner in which the higher classes keep themselves free from the national prejudices, that their organs, the press, studiously excite in the mass. This is said without any reference to America, however, for the aristocracy certainly likes *us* as little as any portion of the community, and without alluding to the mere difference that always exists between knowledge and ignorance, but to notions, which, if true, ought to be found more general among the instructed, than among the ignorant.

I perceive that Captain Hall lays much stress on the loyalty of the English, as a healthful sentiment that is quite unknown

in America. He has not attached too much importance to this feeling, in my judgment, though he has scarcely analysed it with sufficient penetration. This loyalty is a pure abstraction in England, on which, by dint of management, the self-love of the nation has been concentrated. It is national pride, interest, and national prejudice, to all of which this direction has been given, so far as they are connected with sentiment; for to say that the usual personal attachment has anything to do with it, in regard to a monarch whom his people have quietly seen stripped, one by one, of the free exercise of all his prerogatives, involves an absurdity. No one is more loyal in England than the duke who is acquiring boroughs, with a view to return members whose principal duty will be to vote down and curb the royal authority. Such a man, it is true, declaims against disloyalty as a crime; he defends the prerogative both in person and

by his nominees ; but then he takes good care that it shall be exercised by a minister whom he has an agency in creating, and with whom he can make his own terms. It would not do to transfer this sentiment from him who has not, to those who actually wield the power of the state, and who are compelled to live so much before the common eye,—for there are too many of them; they are unsupported by the prejudice of birth, and familiarity would soon destroy the portion of the feeling that is the most useful.* The force of this fiction,

* I am quite aware that it will be affirmed by some of our *doctrinaires*, that the King of England *does* exercise the prerogatives of his office. It would be easy to produce proof enough to the contrary, but take a single case. It is notorious that he wishes a tory ministry, at this very moment, and it is equally notorious that he cannot appoint one, on account of parliament. Now his right to name his ministers is almost the only undisputed prerogative that is left him in theory even, for a minister is made responsible for all the other executive acts. But hear what a witness, whose loyalty will not be questioned, says. “ It has affected me very much to hear of *our king's* being constrained to part with all his confidential friends and his own personal servants

loyalty (it is purely fiction, as it relates to the individual), is inconceivably strong ; for I question if the English, after their own fashion, are not the most loyal people in Europe. Their feelings, in this particular, give one good reason to doubt whether men will not defer more to an abstraction than to a reality.

Another of the prejudices of the English arises from the devotedness of the faith with which they subscribe to the fictions of their own system. In no other country is society so socially drilled. Lord —— ob-

in the late general sweep. *Out of a hundred stories*, I will only tell you one, which concerns your old acquaintance Lord Bateman ; he went to the king, as usual, over night to ask if his majesty would please to hunt the next day : ‘Yes, my lord !’ replied the king, ‘but I find, *with great grief*, that I am not to have the satisfaction of your company !’ This was the first intimation he had had of the loss of his place ; and I really think the contest with France and America might have been settled, *though the buck-hounds had retained their old master.*” See letter of Hannah More to her sister, London, 1782. The Plantagenets were not treated in this fashion, and yet England was said to be governed, even in their day, by King, Lords, and Commons !

served to me, "England is a pyramid, in which every man has his place, and of which the king forms the point." The remark has some truth in it, but the peer overlooked the essential fact, that where the summit ought to be, the base of his pyramid is.

This social drilling, however, like almost everything else, has its advantages and its disadvantages. The better soldier you make of a man, the more he becomes disqualified to be anything else. You have no notion of the extent to which the ethics of station are carried in this country; being probably quite as much beyond the point of reason and manliness, in one extreme, as the canting of the press and the brawls of low party politicians are driving it to the other, with us. I have seen a footman's manual, in which, besides the explanations of active duties, the whole *morale* of his station is set before the stu-

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dent with great precision and solemnity. It is a sort of social catechism. So effectually has the system of drill been pursued, that I firmly believe a majority of Englishmen at this moment attach an idea of immorality to any serious effort to alter the phases of society. It is deemed social treason, and like other treason, the notion of crime is connected with it.

The benefits of this drilling are, great order, with perfect seemliness and method in conducting the affairs of life; the defects, the substitution of artificial for the natural links of society, form for feeling, and the inward festering of the mind, which, sooner or later, will be certain to break out on the surface, and disfigure, if it do not destroy, the body politic. There is no comparison between the *finish* of an English, and that of a French servant, for instance, as regards the thousand little details of duty. One is as much

superior to the other, as an English is superior to a French knife: but, when it comes to feeling, the advantage is all the other way. The English servant will not bear familiarity, scarcely kindness: the Frenchman will hardly dispense with both. To the first you never speak, unless to order; the latter is treated as an humble friend. The revolution in France has shown instances of devotedness and affection, in consequence, that no revolution in England will ever be likely to see equalled.

One of the effects of the prejudices of the country is to supersede facts and reasoning by a set of dogmatical inferences, which the Englishman receives quite as a matter of course, and as beyond discussion. I could give you a hundred examples of what I mean, but a recent instance shall suffice.

In a discussion with the conductor of a periodical work, who is friendly to Ame-

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rica, I have had occasion to note the following errors in relation to ourselves. Speaking of the expedition of Captain Parry to the North, he bestows very merited encomiums on the conduct of the crews, which he attributes to their good training, as Englishmen. By way of illustrating the difference between such a system, and one that may, with great justice, pass for its converse, he gave an account of an exploring expedition sent out by the government of the United States to the Pacific Ocean, in which the men had put their officers on shore, and had gone a-sealing ! You are to understand that my acquaintance had been pressing me to contribute to his work, with the object of correcting the erroneous notions which prevail in England, in regard to America.

“ Here,” said I, “ is an instance of the sweeping deductions that you form. You

imagine a fact, and directly in the teeth of testimony go to work to produce your inferences. The United States never sent an expedition of the sort anywhere, and of course, no such occurrence could have taken place. Now, as to the principle, I may speak from some personal knowledge, and I tell you that, according to my experience, the English seamen are much the most turbulent, and the Americans much the most tractable, and the least likely to violate law, of any with whom I have ever had anything to do. In point of fact, the officers of no American cruiser ever lost the command of their vessel for an hour, or, perhaps I might say, a minute, though two or three slight instances of insubordination did occur, under the old laws, and when the terms of service of the men were legally up; but, owing to the spirit of the officers, and the habits of subordination in the crews, in every

one of even these instances, the resistance was immediately quelled. What is the other side of the picture? Did not the crews of several English vessels murder their officers, and run away with the ships, during the last war? There are the cases of the *Hermione*, and the *Bounty*, for instance, and this assertion of yours is made in face of the notorious historical fact that, within the memory of man, the British empire was made to tremble to its centre by the mutiny of the *Nore*!"

I believe my acquaintance was struck with this representation, and I expected to see an explanation in his work; but the next number contained a paragraph, which deprecated the admission of matter that conflicted with the *national prejudices*!

So far as mere manner is concerned, the English drilling produces better results, in everyday life, than our own *pêle mêle*. A

good portion of the *grossièreté*, at home, is for the want of the condensed class of well-bred people, of which I have so often spoken, and the moral cowardice of men, who have too often ardent longings for the glitter of life, without the manliness to enforce its decencies.* Could the two nations meet half way, in this respect, both would be essentially gainers, we in appearances, and in the decencies connected with manner, and the English in the more kindly feelings, and in security. There is undeniably a cant obtaining the ascendancy at home, that is destructive of all manner, in conducting the ordinary relations of life, and which is not free from danger, as it confounds the substance of things with their shadow. Democracy has

* One of the most ludicrous instances, I know, of the manner in which terms are abused in America, was related to me lately by Judge ——, of Louisiana. A constable came into court, leading two knaves, and addressed him, by saying—"Please your Honour, these are the two *gentlemen*, who stole Col. D——'s horses."

no necessary connexion with vulgarity, but it merely means that men shall have equal political rights. There can be no greater fallacy than to say, one man is as good as another, in all things. In the eye of God men are equal, and happy is the country in which it is not dangerous to declare, also, that they shall be perfectly equal in all their legal privileges: but beyond this, the principle cannot be carried, and civilization maintained. One man has higher tastes, more learning, better principles, more strength, more beauty, and greater natural abilities, than another.

I take it, that human institutions are intended to prevent him, who is the most powerful, in consequence of the possession of these advantages, from injuring him who is weaker. The relations between master and servant are not all affected thereby, and he who submits to labour

for hire, under the directions of an employer, serves, while the other commands. These duties may be conducted with too little, as well as too much deference of manner. The tendency in civilized society is always toward the latter, when the usual proportions between surface and population are obtained; for it is a consequence of the pressure of society, and there is little fear that we shall not get our share of it in time; though, *en attendant*, we find occasional instances in which the individual mistakes insolence for independence. Perhaps, after all, *insolence* is too strong a word. I think I have met more pure insolence from Englishmen in low situations, than from Americans; it is the natural consequence of reaction; though it is rare, indeed, to meet with the same deference from the last, as from the first. Assemble, in any reasonable space in America, a dozen

genteel families, and they will, of their own influence, create an atmosphere of decency about them, that shall contain all that is really desirable in this respect. The inherent sense of right which is implanted in every man by nature, and which becomes conscience in moral things, may be safely confided in as the surest means of regulating the deportment of the different castes of society towards each other.

There is a very general notion prevalent in England, that we seized a moment to declare war against them, when they were pressed upon hardest by the rest of Europe. A portion of their antipathy is owing to this idea, though the idea itself is altogether owing to their prejudices against America, for there is not a particle of truth in it. I do not remember to have conversed on the subject with any Englishman who did not betray this feeling. It is of no consequence that dates disprove

the fact. America declared war on the 18th of June, 1812, after twenty years of submission to impressment and illegal captures, and at a moment when the government was put in possession of proof of an effort, on the part of England, to dissolve the Union, as well as of her fixed determination not to alter her Orders in Council. As respects the latter, history gives all the necessary evidence of the expediency of the war, for it had not been declared three months, when the British government offered to do what it had just before officially affirmed it would not do. In June 1812, Spain and Portugal were in arms on the side of England, Russia and Sweden were secretly preparing to join her, and that great effort, which finally broke down the power of France, was just about to commence ; but in the face of all these facts, the opinion I have mentioned certainly exists.

The English have been persuaded that

a religious establishment is indispensable to religion. As regards the establishments of Italy, France, Spain, Turkey, and all the rest of the world, they are ready enough to admit that there are capital faults connected with the several religious systems; but having got the truth themselves, it is expedient to fortify it with legal and exclusive advantages. Of all the profane blasphemies the world has witnessed, that of prostituting the meek doctrines of Christ, by pampering his professed ministers with riches and honours, under the hollow pretence of upholding his faith, is the most insulting to evident truths, and offensive to humility. Such are the fruits of establishments, and of enlisting religion in the support of temporal political systems. Good men *may* prosper, even under these disadvantages, but bad men *will*. It is a device of the devil, if that fallen angel is, at all, permitted to meddle with spiritual things.

As we have no establishment, it is the prevalent opinion here, that we have no religion. Several intelligent English have confessed thus much to me ; an admission that was not at all necessary, for I detected the prejudice before I had been a month in the country ; and one person has actually appealed to me for facts, with a view to repel the arguments of those who uphold the present state of things ; since it is assumed, that the actual condition of America is a proof of the necessity of a religious establishment in the interests of order and morality. My answer was, "that were the upper classes of the English to be placed in America, with their present habits and notions, there is not one of them in a hundred who would not immediately begin to declaim against the religious fanaticisms and exaggeration of the country !"

This reply I believe to contain the truth. There is an exterior affectation of a defe-

rence for spiritual things here, among people of condition, that does not always, or rather so universally, exist with us ; for, the government being an aristocracy, and the establishment enlisted in its support, it would be a singular indiscretion, in times like these, for those who reap the peculiar advantages of the existing order of things, to neglect so powerful an ally. Some of these persons often remind me of that anecdote of the English sailor, who, falling into the hands of the Turks, was urged to become a Mussulman—"What, change my religion ? No, d—n my eyes, never !" The religious *tone* of a community is best ascertained through its facts. Since I have been in Europe, the following circumstances, among many others of a similar character, have come under my eye.

A duel was fought at Boulogne in France, between the Rev. ———, and Mr. ———; the former was attended by his brother,

the Rev. ——. Both the reverend gentlemen were ordained clergymen of the Church of England, and the latter was said to be married to the daughter of a bishop.

A complainant appeared before a London magistrate, in the case of an assault. The defendant justified himself by saying, “that he was driving a gig, with a female ; that the complainant passed him on horseback repeatedly, and insulted his companion, by staring under her hat ; whereupon he horsewhipped the offender.”—“ You handed this card to your assailant ?” said the magistrate, to the complainant. “ I did.” “ With what intention ?”—“ As is usual among gentlemen, when an outrage like this has been committed.”—“ One corner of the card is torn off—why did you tear it off ?”—“ *Because I am in the church, sir, and I thought the ‘Rev.’ misplaced on such an occasion.*” The substance of this state-

ment, with the names of the parties, has appeared in the police reports during my visit here.

"The Rev. Mr. O—— fought Mr.——, at Boulogne, quite recently, the reverend gentleman hitting his man."

There is, no doubt, much vice among the clergy everywhere, for they are frail, like all of us. Probably the vicious men in the church of England are not at all more numerous than those of every established church necessarily must be, with the temptations to enter it for the possession of rich livings : but what I wish to lay before you, is a comparison between England and America on these points. I think it would be hard to find a layman in all America who would fight a clergyman, much less a clergyman who would openly fight a duel. If "hypocrisy be the homage which vice pays to virtue," the inference is fair, that a public sentiment

in America, keeps a clergyman in closer bounds than he would be kept in England.

It is denying the effects of the most common natural influences to pretend that a church, whose avenues lead to vast wealth, and to the highest rank in the state, is as likely to be as pure in its ministers as one which offers less temporal inducements than any one of all the liberal occupations of life. If it be contended that an establishment is indispensable to religion, it must be confessed that its advantages are to be taken with this essential drawback. It is a notorious fact, that sons are set aside for the church here when children, in order that they may receive particular livings, in the gift of the family, or its friends, or that their fortunes may be pushed in it, by family influence. Nothing of the sort exists with us.

Lord ——, at a dinner in his own house, observed to me, that the best thing we had

in America was our freedom from the weight of a religious establishment. Encouraged by this remark, I told an anecdote of a conversation I had once overheard in America. It was while making a passage in a sloop, on the coast, with two young whalers, just returned from sea, as fellow-passengers. A gentleman on board asked me what had become of young Napoleon, then a boy of ten or twelve years. I answered, there was a report that the Austrians were educating him for the church. My two whalers listened intently to this conversation, in which the tender years of the child had been mentioned, when one of them suddenly exclaimed to the other—“ Did you hear that, Ben ? Bringing a parson *up by hand !*”—“ Ay, ay ; making a *cosset-priest !*”

I was much amused by the point and sarcasm of these remarks, and every American will feel why ; but I was more so, I

think, by the manner in which my English auditors received the anecdote. I do not think one of them felt its point; but as the Sag-Harbour-men used agricultural figures to illustrate their meaning, I was at once applied to, to know whether such people could be more than half-seamen, and whether America could supply mariners sufficient to become a great naval power!

A lady, here, with whom I am on sufficiently friendly terms to converse freely, was speaking of the son of a noble family, a near connexion of hers, who is in the church. "It is very unpleasant," she said, "to find one whom you esteem, getting to be wrong-headed in such matters. Now —— was becoming quite serious, and a little fanatical, and I was employed by the family to speak to him!" This —— is a clergyman whose piety has been highly extolled by one of our bishops,

and whose devotion to the Redeemer is thought, at home, to be highly creditable to the English aristocracy. So far as he himself is concerned, all this is well enough ; but as to the manner in which “the nobility and gentry” of his connexion regard his course, you have sufficient proof in what I have just told you.

I shall dismiss this part of the subject as unpleasant to myself. The Church of England, so far as its religious dogmas are concerned, is that in which I was educated, and in which I am training my children ; and no one is more sensible of its excellencies, when they are separated from its abuses. I should have been silent altogether on its defects, but I feel convinced that a grasping, worldly spirit, has made it an instrument, in the hands of artful or prejudiced men, of defaming a state of society which is probably as ex-

empt from its own peculiar vices, as it ever fell to the lot of men to be.

Another notion, deeply rooted in the English mind, is a strange opinion, that all men of *liberal* education and gentlemanly habits, must of necessity be hostile to popular rights, and by the same necessity, advocates of some such liberty as their own, if the advocates of any liberty at all. One of the first things that the clerical critic, on the well-known sermon of Bishop Hobart, remarks, is his surprise that a man of "gentlemanly habits" should have taken such a view of matters! There is, unquestionably, a strong disposition in men, who do not look beyond the exterior of things, (and this, perhaps, embraces the majority,) to confound "taste" with "principles." There are many things in which the results of the English system are more agreeable to my tastes, and even

40 . EFFECTS OF SOCIAL DRILLING.

my habits, than those of our own, though I believe ours will be eventually softened by the pressure of society ; but, it does not strike me that this is a sufficient reason, why an honest man should overlook more essential points. One cannot have the thorough, social drilling of a government of exclusion, and escape its other consequences. All power that is not based on the mass, must repress the energies and moral improvement of that mass for its own security, and the fruits are the vast chasm which exists everywhere, in Europe, between the extremes of society.

I shall say little of the mere vulgar prejudices, which piously believe in the inherent superiority, moral and physical, of Englishmen over all the rest of mankind ; for something very like it is to be found in all nations : still, I think, the prejudices of England, in this respect, are more than

usually offensive to other people, as I believe are our own. Those of England, however, are to be distinguished from those of America in one important particular. The common Englishman cannot believe himself superior to his Transatlantic kinsman, with a whit more sincerity, than the feeling is returned by the common American: but while the Englishman of the upper classes thinks lightly of the American, the American of the upper classes over-estimates the Englishman. There are doubtless many exceptions in both cases, especially among those who have travelled; but such, I think, is the rule. Our own weakness is a natural consequence of a colonial origin, of reading English books, and of the exaggerations of distance and dependency. It is a weakness that is seen and commented on by everybody but those who feel it.

I question if the inbred and overweening

notion of personal superiority ascends as high in the social scale, or is as general among people of education, in any other community, as in England. In this respect we are deficient rather than exaggerated; for while all America (I now speak of the upper classes, you will remember) can be thrown into a fever by an intimation that our *things* are not as good as those of other nations, there is a secret and general distrust of our equality on the points that alone can give dignity and character to man. A friend of yours has been accused of national vanity, and national conceit, (an odd charge, by the way, for I question if there is a man in the whole republic who prides himself less in the national character than the person in question,) because he has endeavoured to repel and refute some of the grosser imputations that artifice and prejudice, in this quarter of the world, have been studiously and

industriously heaping on us ; and the simple circumstance that, in so doing, he has conflicted a little with English supremacy, has been the means of destroying whatever favour he may once have possessed with the American *reading* public, as a writer ; for England, at this moment, holds completely at her mercy the reputation and character of every American she may choose to assail, who is not supported by the *bulk* of his own nation. As a matter of course, she writes up all who defer to her power, and writes down all who resist it. The statements of your friend have been publicly derided, because they have affirmed the rights and merits of the *mass*, on which alone we are to ground all our claims to comparative excellence ; and I now ask you, if, in any review, comment, or speech, at home, you have ever met with the sweeping assertions of an *abstract, innate* national superiority,

that is contained in the following paragraph.

“ It would be in vain to inquire whether this superiority, which we do not hesitate to say has been made manifest, with very few exceptions, whenever the British have met foreign troops upon equal terms, arises from a stronger conformation of body or a more determined turn of mind ; but it seems certain that the British soldier, inferior to Frenchmen in general intelligence, and in individual acquaintance with the trade of war, has a decided advantage in the bloody shock of actual conflict, and especially when maintained by the bayonet, body to body. *It is remarkable also, that the charm is not peculiar to any one of the three united nations, but it is common to the natives of all, different as they are in habits and education.* The guards, supplied by the city of London, may be contrasted with a regiment of Irish recruited among

their rich meadows, or a body of Scotch, from their native wildernesses ; and while it may be difficult to assign the palm to either over the other two, all are found to exhibit that species of dogged and desperate courage, *which, without staying to measure force or calculate chances, rushes on the enemy as the bull-dog upon the bear.*"

Lest you should think I have rummaged one of the productions of the Minerva Press for some of its inflations, it may be well to explain, that this quiet, deeply-seated *naïve* proof of ignorance and prejudice, is quoted from Sir Walter Scott's account of the battle of Maida, in the Life of Napoleon. We are justly enough deemed conceited, but our literature contains nothing to compare with this. I have cited this instance of prejudice, in order to prove how high the weakness of believing in the personal superiority of their own people ascends in the scale of intellect, for I have no doubt that

46 ASSUMPTION OF SUPERIORITY.

Sir Walter Scott religiously believed all he wrote.

The exhibition of many of the prejudices of the English is not always restrained by propriety, even among those who ought to know better.* Of this, all foreigners complain, and I think with reason. As respects us, there is a quiet assumption of superiority, that has the appearance of an established right to comment on the nation, its character, and its institutions. There is a mode of doing this, which removes all objections among men of the

* That the reader may understand the nature and extent of the prejudices that are inculcated in England, against this country, I extract a sentence from a *school book*, of a good deal of reputation, *written by a clergyman*. The edition is of 1830. “The women everywhere possess, in the highest degree, the domestic virtues; they have more sweetness, more goodness, *perhaps as much courage*, and more sensibility and liberality, than the men.” Prejudice must have taken deep root, indeed, in England, where the bad taste of a sneer on the courage of America was not self-evident. One of the best informed men I met in that country told me, that no event, in his time, had produced so

world, but there is, also, a mode which amounts to positive personal disrespect.

Of the latter class is an occurrence that took place at the table of Lord ——, quite lately. One of the guests very quietly went to work, without preface of any sort, to prove that the improper deportment of the members of congress, as compared with those of parliament, was owing to a want of refinement in the nation ! I met him at once, (for I never witnessed in the society of gentlemen a greater instance of personal indecorum,) by denying his premises. Se-

deep a sensation in England, as the unexpected and bloody resistance of the *armed population* to the British troops, at Bunker Hill. One of the principal causes of the errors of all Europe, as respects us, is owing to the fact, that their writers, anxious to attract, deal with exceptions instead of with the rules. The whole article of "America," in the book I have just quoted, betrays this fault. Among other absurdities, it says, "there are scarcely in the country twenty native Americans, (meaning whites, of course,) in the state of domestic servants." There are, beyond question, tens of thousands, including both sexes, and all ages.

48 PREJUDICE AGAINST AMERICA.

riously, I believe, of the two, congress is better mannered than parliament, though there is less mystification ; all that has been written to the contrary, being founded rather on what ought to be, according to certain notions, than on what is.

Whenever I meet with this disposition, it chills all my sympathies. I hope I can be just to such men, but I can never like them. What renders these unfeeling and ignorant comments less inexcusable, is the fact, that any attempt to turn the tables is instantly met with a silence that cannot be misconstrued. Surprised to find the depth and universality of prejudice against America here, as well as the freedom with which remarks are made, I determined to try the experiment of retorting in kind. In most instances I have found that they who were willing to talk all night on the defects of America, become mum the instant there is an allusion to any similar

weaknesses in England or in English character. As there can be no wish to keep up acquaintances on such terms, I have generally dropped them ; always, unless I have seen that the prejudice is sincere, and acting on a benevolent nature. I presume the history of the world cannot offer another instance of prejudice in one nation against another that is as strong and as general as that which, at this moment, exists in England against America ; the community of language and the art of printing having been the means of provoking, rather than of mitigating the failing.

Although prejudice must result in ultimate evil, it may measurably produce intermediate good. The prejudices of England are at the base of the nationality of her people. With us the *people* are national from affection, and a consciousness of living under a system that protects their rights and interests ; but true nationality

is very much confined to the mass, though national conceit is pretty generally diffused. No man in America can have national pride, (the ground-work of all true nationality,) who has not pride in the institutions; and this is a feeling that all the training of the higher classes has taught them to repress. Our social aristocracy, in this respect, are a mere reflection of the commoner English prejudices—prejudices that are received ignorantly, in pure faith, and as the stone admits water by constant dropping. A more impudent piece of literary empiricism has never been palmed on the world, than the pretension that the American reading public requires American themes; it may require American *things* to a certain extent, though it is quite natural, and perhaps excusable, that it should prefer foreign, which I believe to be the real fact; but as to distinctive American *sentiments* and American *principles*, the

majority of that class of our citizens hardly know them when they see them. A more wrong-headed and deluded people there is not on earth than our own, on all such subjects, and one would be almost content to take some of the English prejudices, if more manliness and discrimination could be had with them. Our faults of this nature are the results of origin and geographical position ; those of England are the results of time, power, artifice, and peculiar political and physical advantage.

All great nations are egotistical, and deluded on the subject of their superiority. The constant influence of an active corps of writers, (who from position become so many popular flatterers,) acting on the facts of a strong community, has a tendency to induce men to transfer the credit that is only due to collective power, to national character and personal qualities. The history of the world proves that the

citizens of small states have performed more great and illustrious personal acts, and out of all proportion to numbers, than the citizens of great nations, and the reason is probably to be found in the greater necessities of their condition ; but, fewer feeling an interest in extolling their deeds, it is not common for them to reap the glory that falls to the share of even the less deserving servitors of a powerful community.

I shall close this brief summary of national peculiarities by an allusion to one more. Foreigners accuse the English of being capricious in their ordinary intercourse. They are allowed to be fast friends, but uncertain acquaintances. The man or woman who receives you to-day with a frank smile, and a familiar shake of the hand, may meet you to-morrow coldly, and with a chilling or repulsive formality. I have seen something of this, and believe

the charge, in a degree, to be merited. They are formalists in manners, and too often mistake the spirit that ought to regulate intercourse. Jonathan stands these caprices better than any one else, for he is so devout a believer that he sees smiles in his idol, when other people see grimaces. Your true American *doctrinaire* studies the book which John Bull has published concerning his own merits, with some such faith as old women look into the almanack in order to know when it will snow.*

* While this work is going through the press, Tucker's "Jefferson" has appeared. In allusion to the principles of a memorial written by himself, Mr. Jefferson's language is quoted to the following effect : "The leap I then proposed was too long, as yet, for the mass of our citizens." Nearly seventy years have since passed by ; we have become a nation, numerically and physically a *great* nation ; and yet in how many things that affect the supremacy of English opinion and English theories, is "the leap" still "too long" for the "mass of our citizens !" "It is these long leaps," notwithstanding, that make the difference between men.

LETTER XXIII.

HENRY FLOYD-JONES, ESQ. FORT NECK.

Mr. M'Adam.—English Highways.—Rye-house.—American Emigrants.—Partisanship.—Invasion of England. Roydon-house.—Growth of London.—English Colonies.—Power of the United States.—Independence of Canada.—Colonial System of England.—Foreign Policy.—Popular Feeling.—Influence of London.

OUR connexion, Mr. M'Adam,* who resides in Hertfordshire, has just taken me with him to his house.

* The intelligence of the death of this gentleman has reached America while this book is printing. John Loudon M'Adam was a native of Scotland, of the proscribed family of M'Gregor. He was in the line of descent to a small estate called Waterhead; but being cut off from his natural claims by the act of attainer, he came early to America, as the adopted son and successor of an uncle, who had married and established himself in New York. Here he received his education, and continued seventeen

It was something to find myself on an English highway, seated by the side of the man who had done so much for the kingdom, in this respect. We travelled in an open gig, for my companion had an eye to every displaced stone or inequality in the surface. The system of roads here is as years, or down to the period of the peace of 1783. Returning to Great Britain, he established himself at Bristol, near which town he commenced his experiments in roads, more as an amateur than with any serious views of devoting himself to the occupation. Meeting with unlooked-for success, he gradually extended his operations, until he finally transformed most of the highways of the island into the best of the known world. For the last five-and-twenty years his whole time, and all his studies, were directed to this one end.

Mr. M'Adam was twice offered knighthood, and once a baronetcy; distinctions that he declined. His second son, however, has recently received the former honour, and is the present Sir James M'Adam. As this gentleman is much employed about London, he is usually mistaken for the father.

Mr. M'Adam was twice married. His first wife was a daughter of William Nicoll, proprietor of the great manor of Islip, Suffolk county, Long Island, the collateral representative of Colonel Nicoll, who took the colony from the Dutch, in 1663, and its first English governor; his second wife was the eldest daughter of John Peter De Lancey, of Mamaroneck, West Chester, New York.

bad as can be ; the whole country being divided into small “trusts,” as they are called, in a way to prevent any one great and continued plan. I should say we went through four or five gates, absolutely within the limits of the town ; obstacles, however, that probably still exist, on account of the great growth of London. Although Mr. M'Adam had no connexion with the “trusts” about London, we passed all the gates without contribution, in virtue of his name.

We had much conversation on the subject of roads. On my mentioning that I had found some of them much better than

Mr. M'Adam was a man of a singularly calm and contemplative mind, mingled with an unusual degree of practical energy and skill. Quiet, modest, intelligent, and upright, few men were more esteemed in private life ; and while few men have conferred more actual benefit on Great Britain, scarcely any man has been less rewarded. Conscientious and proud, he was superior to accepting favours that were beneath his claims, or to soliciting those which were his due.

others, a few, indeed, being no better than very many of our own, Mr. M'Adam told me that there was a want of material in many parts of England, which had compelled them to have recourse to gravel. "Now," said he, "the *metal* of this very road on which we are travelling came from the East Indies!" The explanation was sufficiently simple: stone had been brought into the India docks as ballast, and hauled thence, a distance of several miles, to make the bed of the road we were on. Gravel-pits are common in England; and there is one open, at this moment, in Hyde Park, that is a blot on its verdure.

We took the road into Hertfordshire, which is the great northern highway, as well as being the scene of John Gilpin's race. We passed the "Bell, at Edmonton," where there is now a sign in commemoration of John's speed, and bottom,

and wig. By the way, the coachmen have a more classical authority for the flaxens than I had thought.

Waltham Cross was an object of still greater interest. Edward I. caused these crosses to be erected on the different spots where the body of his wife reposed, in its funeral-journey from Milford Haven to London. Charing-cross, in the town itself, was the last of them. They are little gothic structures, with niches to receive statues, and are surmounted by crosses, forming quaint and interesting memorials. I believe we passed two of them between London and Hoddeson, by which it would seem that the body of the queen made short stages. The cross at Charing has entirely disappeared.

At Hoddeson we were on the borders of Essex ; and the day after our arrival, Mr. M'Adam walked with me across the bridge that separates the two counties, to

look at Rye-house, the place so celebrated as the spot where the attempt was to have been made on the life of Charles II. The intention was to fire on the king as he returned from Newmarket, on his way to London. The building is certainly well placed for such an object, as it almost projects into the road, which, just here, is quite narrow, and which it enfilades in such a way, that a volley fired from its windows would have been pretty certain to rake the whole of the royal *cortège*. The house itself is a common brick farm building, somewhat quaint, particularly about the chimneys, and by no means large. I suspect a part of it has disappeared. It is now used as a poor-house, and certainly, if it is to be taken as a specimen of the English poor-houses in general, it is highly creditable to the nation. Nothing could be neater, and the inmates were few.

The land around this place was low and level, and quite devoid of landscape beauty. I was told there is evidence that the Danes, in one of their invasions, once landed near this spot, though the distance to the sea cannot now be less than twenty miles ! Mr. Malthus has overlooked the growth of the island, in his comparative estimates of the increase of the population.

Some boys were fishing on the bridge, near Rye-house, wearing a sort of uniform, and my companion told me they were cadets studying for the East India civil service, in an institution near by. The New-river, which furnishes so much water to London, flows by this spot also ; and, in returning, we walked some distance on its banks. It is not much larger than a race-way, nor was its current very swift. If this artificial stream can even wash the hands and faces of the cockneys, the Croton ought to overflow New York.

Hoddesdon was selected as a residence, by several of the American emigrant families, that were driven from their own country, and lost their estates by the revolution. Its comparative cheapness and proximity to London must have been its recommendation, as neither the place itself, nor the surrounding country, struck me as particularly attractive. The confiscations were peculiarly hard on individuals ; and in some instances they were unmerited, even in a political point of view ; but if it be true, as has lately been asserted, that the British ministry brought about the struggle under the expectation of being able easily to subdue the colonists, and with a view to provide for their friends by confiscations on the other side, retributive justice did its usual office. The real history of political events would scarcely bear the light in any country.

If any American wishes to hear both

sides of the great contest between the colonies and the mother country, I would recommend a short sojourn in one of the places where these emigrants have left their traditions. He will there find that names which he has been taught to reverence are held in hereditary abhorrence ; that his heroes are other people's knaves ; and other people's prodigies, his rogues. There is in all this, quite probably, the usual admixture of truth and error, both heightened by the zeal and animosities of partisanship.

I had, however, in our connexion, strong evidence of how much the mind, unless stimulated by particular motives, is prone to rest satisfied with its acquisitions, and to think of things changeable in their nature, under the influence of first impressions. He is a man of liberal acquirements, sound judgment, great integrity of feeling, and of unusually extensive practical knowledge, and yet some of his

notions of America, which were obtained half a century since, almost tempted me to doubt the existence of his common sense. An acute observer, a countryman long resident here, told me soon after landing, that “the English, clever, instructed, fair-minded and practical as they commonly are, seem to take leave of their ordinary faculties on all subjects connected with America.” Really, I begin to be of the same way of thinking.

Our connexion here was as far from vapouring on the subject of England, as any man I knew; of great personal modesty and simplicity, he appears to carry these qualities into his estimates of national character. He is one of the few Englishmen I have met, for instance, who has been willing to allow that Napoleon could have done anything, had he succeeded in reaching the island. “I do not see how we should have prevented him

from going to London," he said, "had he got a hundred thousand men fairly on the land, at Dungeness; and once in London, Heaven knows what would have followed." This opinion struck me as a sound one; for the nation is too rich, and the division between *castes*, too marked, to expect a stout resistance, when the ordinary combinations were defeated. I have little doubt, that the difference in systematic preparation and in the number of regular troops apart, that a large body of hostile men would march further in England than in the settled parts of America, all the fanfaronades of the Quarterly, to the contrary, notwithstanding. He looks on the influence of the national debt too, gloomily, and is as far from the vapid indifference of national vanity as any one I know. But, the moment we touch on America, his mind appears to have lost its balance.

As a specimen of how long the old colonial maxims have been continued in this country, he has asked me where we are to get wool for our manufactures? I reminded him of the extent of the country. This was well enough, he answered, but "the winters are too long in America to keep sheep." When I told him the census of 1825 shows that the single state of New York, with a population of less than 1,800,000, has three millions and a half of sheep, he could scarcely admit the validity of our documents.

All the ancient English opinions were formed on the political system of the nation, and men endeavoured lustily to persuade themselves that things which this system opposed could not be. The necessity of enlisting opinion in its behalf, has imposed the additional necessity of sometimes enlisting it in opposition to reason.

There is a small building in Hoddesdon,

called Roydon-house, that has exceedingly struck my fancy. It is not large for Europe, not at all larger than a second-rate American country house, but beautifully quaint and old-fashioned. I have seen a dozen of these houses, and I envy the English their possession, much more than that of their Blenheims and Eatons. I am told there is not a good room in it, but that it is cut up, in the old way, into closets, being half hall and staircase. The barrenness of our country, in all such relics, give them double value in my eyes, and I always feel, when I see one, as if I would rather live in its poetical and antique discomfort, than in the best fitted dwellings of our own times. I dare say a twelvemonth of actual residence, however, would have the same effect on such a taste as it has on love in a cottage.

I returned to town in a post-chaise, a vehicle that the cockneys do not calum-

niate, when they call it a “post-shay.” It is a small, cramped, inconvenient chariot without the box, and, like the *interiors* of the ordinary stage-coaches, does discredit to the well-established reputation of England for comfort. Those who use post-horses in Europe, usually travel in their own carriages, but these things are kept as *pis allers* for emergencies.

As we drove through the long maze of villages that are fast getting to be incorporated with London itself, my mind was insensibly led to ruminations on the growth of this huge capital, its influence on the nation and the civilized world, its origin and its destinies.

To give you, in the first place, some idea of the growth of the town, I had often heard a mutual connexion of ours, who was educated in England, allude to the circumstance that the husband of one of his cousins, who held a place in the royal house-

hold, had purchased a small property in the vicinity of London, in order to give his children the benefit of country air ; his duties and his poverty equally preventing him from buying a larger estate further from town. When here, in 1826, I was invited to dine in the suburbs, and undertook to walk to the villa, where I was expected. I lost my way, and looking up at the first corner for a direction, saw the name of a family nearly connected with those with whom we are connected. The three or four streets that followed had also names of the same sort, some of which were American. Struck by the coincidence, I inquired in the neighbourhood, and found I was on the property of the grandson of the gentleman, who, fifty years before, had purchased it with a view to give his children country air ! Thus the *poverty* of the ancestor has put the descendant in pos-

session of some fifteen or twenty thousand a year.

I should think that the growth of London is greater, relatively, than that of any other town in Europe, three or four on this island excepted. Many think the place already too large for the kingdom, though the comparison is hardly just, the empire, rather than England, composing the social base of the capital. So long as the two Indies and the other foreign dependencies can be retained, London is more in proportion to the power and wealth of the state, than Paris is in proportion to the power and wealth of France. The day must come, (and it is nearer than is commonly thought,) when the British empire, as it is now constituted, must break up, and then London will, indeed, be found too large for the state. In that day, its suburbs will probably recede quite as fast

as they now grow. Mr. M'Adam considers the size of London an evil.

The English frequently discuss the usefulness of their colonies, and moot the question of the policy of throwing them off. They who support the latter project, invariably quote the instance of America, as a proof that the present colonies will be more useful to the mother-country, when independent, than they are to-day. I have often smiled at their reasoning, which betrays the usual ignorance of things out of their own circle.

In the first place, England has very few real colonies at this moment among all her possessions. I do not know where to look for a single foreign dependency of hers, that has not been wrested by violence from some original possessor. It is true, that time and activity have given to some of these conquests the feelings and characters of colonies; and Upper Canada, Nova Scotia,

Jamaica, New Holland, and possibly the Cape, are, more or less, acquiring the title. I thought Mr. M'Adam rather leaned to the opinion, that the country would be better without its colonies than with them. He instanced our own case, and maintained that we are more profitable to England now, than when we were her dependants.

All of the thirteen states of America were truly English colonies. One only was a conquest, (New York,) but more than a century of possession had given that one an English character, and the right of conquest meeting with no obstacle in charters, a more thoroughly English character too, by means of a territorial aristocracy, than belonged to almost any other. The force and impression of this strictly colonial origin are still to be traced among us, in the durability of our prejudices, and in the deference of our opinions and habits to those of the mother-country ; prejudices

72 POWER OF THE UNITED STATES.

and a deference that half a century of political facts, that are more antagonist to those of England than any other known, so far from overthrowing, has scarcely weakened.

In reviewing this subject, the extent and power of the United States are also to be remembered. Our independence was recognized in 1783. In 1793 commenced the wars of the French revolution. About this time, also, we began the cultivation of cotton. Keeping ourselves neutral, and profiting by the national aptitude, the history of the world does not present another instance of such a rapid relative accumulation of wealth as was made by America between the years 1792 and 1812. It would have been greater, certainly, had France and England been more just, but, as it was, centuries will go by before we see its parallel. Our naval stores, bread stuffs, cotton, tobacco, ashes, indigo, and rice, all

went to the highest markets. Here, then, our colonial origin and habits stood England in hand. Nineteen in twenty of our wants were supplied from her workshops. Had we still been dependants we could not have been neutral, could not have been common carriers, could not have bought, for want of the ability to sell.

Now, where is England, in her list of colonies, to find a parallel to these facts? If the Canadas were independent, what have they to export, that we could not crush by competition? England may take lumber exclusively from British America, as a colony, but were British America independent, we would not submit to such a regulation. Our southern woods, among the best in the world, would drive all northern woods out of the market. Having little to sell, Canada could not buy, and she would begin, in self-defence, to manufacture. Our manufactures would deluge the

West-India islands, our ships would carry their produce, and, in short, all the American possessions would naturally look up to the greatest American state as to their natural head.

In the East it would be still worse. All the world would come in as sharers of a commerce that is now controlled for especial objects. England would cease to be the mart of the world, and would find herself left with certain expensive military establishments that there would no longer be a motive for maintaining. Were England to give up her dependencies, I think she would sink to a second-rate power in twenty years. Did we not exist, the change might not be so rapid, for there would be less danger from competition ; but we *do* exist ; number, already, nearly as many people as England, and in a quarter of a century more shall number as many as all the British isles put together.

Can England retain her dependencies in any event? The chances are that she cannot. It is the interest of all Christendom to overturn her system, for it is opposed to the rights of mankind, to allow a small territory in Europe to extend its possessions and its commercial exclusion over the whole earth, by *conquest*. The view of this interest may be obscured by the momentary interference of more pressing concerns, and the alliance of Great Britain purchase temporary acquiescence; but as the world advances in civilisation, this exclusion will become more painful, until all will unite, openly or secretly, to get rid of it. Men are fast getting to be of less importance in Europe, and general interests are assuming their proper power.

It is probable that England will find herself so situated, long ere the close of this century, as to render it necessary to abandon her colonial system. When this

is done, there will no longer be a motive for retaining dependencies, that belong only to herself in their charges. The dominion of the East will probably fall into the hands of the half-castes; that of the West Indies will belong to the blacks, and British America is destined to be a counterpoise to the country along the gulph of Mexico. The first fleet of thirty sail of the line that we shall send to sea, will settle the question of English supremacy in our own hemisphere.

Were these great results dependant on the policy of America I should greatly distrust them, for no nation has less care of its foreign interests or looks less into the future than ourselves. We are nearly destitute of statesmen, though overflowing with politicians. But the facts of the republic are so stupendous as to overshadow everything within their influence. This is another feature in which the two coun-

tries are as unlike as possible. Here all depends on men ; on combinations, management, forethought, care, and policy. With us the young Hercules is stripped of his swaddlings, and his limbs and form are suffered to take the proportions and shape of nature. To be less figurative—it is a known fact that our exertions are proportioned to our wants. In nothing is this truth more manifest, than in the difference which exists between the foreign policies of England and America. That of this country has all the vigilance, decision, energy, and system that are necessary to an empire so factitious and of interests so diversified ; while our own is marked by the carelessness and neglect, not to say ignorance, with which a vigorous youth, in the pride of his years and strength, enters upon the hazards and dangers of life.

One of the best arguments that can be adduced in favour of the present form of

the British government, is its admirable adaptation to the means necessary for keeping such an empire together. Democracy is utterly unsuited to the system of metropolitan rule, since its maxims imperiously require equality of rights. The secret consciousness of this fitness between the institutions and the empire, will probably have a great effect on the minds of all reflecting men in England, when the question comes to serious changes ; for the moment the popular feeling gets the ascendancy, the ties that connect the several parts of this vast collection of conflicting interests will be loosened. The secrecy of motive, and the abandonment of the commoner charities that are necessary for the control of so complicated a machinery, are incompatible with the publicity of a popular sway and the ordinary sympathies of human nature.*

* A proof of this truth is to be found in the law emancipating the slaves of the islands, a step which is the certain forerunner of their loss. It is well known to all near ob-

Were London to fall into ruins, there would probably be fewer of its remains left in a century than are now to be found of Rome. All the stuccoed palaces and Grecian façades of Regent Street and Regent's Park would dissolve under a few changes of the season. The noble bridges, St. Paul's, the Abbey and a few other edifices would remain for the curious ; but I think few European capitals would relatively leave so little behind them of a physical nature, for the admiration of posterity. Not so, however, in matters less material. The direct and familiar moral influence of London is probably less than that of Paris, but in all the higher points of character, I should think it unequalled by that of Rome itself.

servers, that this measure was dictated to parliament by the sympathies of a public, to which momentary causes had given an influence it never before possessed. Mr. Cobbett, however, openly affirmed it was owing to a wish to convulse America, by re-acting on public opinion here ! One is not obliged to believe all that Mr. Cobbett said, but such a surmise even proves something.

LETTER XXIV.

TO R. COOPER, ESQ. COOPERSTOWN, N. Y.

Mr. Coleridge.—Singular Anecdote.—Phrenology.—Joanna Baillie.—Boxing.—Prejudices of the English against America.—Immensity of London.—Want of a Capital.

MR. SOTHEBY has had the good nature to take me with him to see Mr. Coleridge, at Highgate. We found the bard living in a sort of New England house, that stands on what, in New England, would be called a green. The demon of speculation, however, was at work in the neighbourhood, and the place was *being* disfigured by trenches, timber, and bricks.

Our reception was frank and friendly, the poet coming out to us in his morning

undress, without affectation, and in a very prosaic manner. Seeing a beautifully coloured little picture in the room, I rose to take a nearer view of it, when Mr. Coleridge told me it was by his friend Alston. It was a group of horsemen, returning from the chase, the centre of light being a beautiful grey horse. Mr. Alston had found this horse in some picture of Titian's, and copied it for a study; but on Mr. Coleridge's admiring it greatly, he had painted in two or three figures, with another horse or two, so as to tell a story, and presented it to his friend. Of this little work, Mr. Coleridge told the following singular anecdote.

A picture-dealer, of great skill in his calling, was in the habit of visiting the poet. One day this person entered, and his eye fell on the picture for the first time. "As I live!" he exclaimed, "a real Titian!" Mr. Coleridge was then

eagerly questioned as to where he had found the jewel, how long he had owned it, and by what means it came into his possession. Suddenly, the man paused, looked intently at the picture, *turned his back towards it, as if to neutralize the effect of sight*, and raising his hand, so as to feel the surface over his shoulder, he burst out in an ecstasy of astonishment, "It has not been painted twenty years!"

This story was told with great unction and a suitable action, and embellished with what a Puritan would deem almost an oath. We then adjourned to the library. Here we sat half an hour, during most of which time our host entertained us with his flow of language. I was amused with the contrast between the two poets, for Mr. Sotheby was as meek, quiet, subdued, simple, and regulated, as the other was redundant, imaginative, and overflowing. I thought the first occasionally checked

the natural ebullitions of the latter, like a friend who rebuked his failings. One instance was a little odd and pointed.

The conversation had wandered to phrenology, and Mr. Coleridge gave an account of the wonders that a professor had found in his own head, with a minuteness that caused his friend to fidget. To divert him from the subject, I told an anecdote that occurred just before I left America.

Meeting a votary of the science, one day, at a bookseller's, he began to expatiate on its beauties. From theory he proceeded to practice, by making an analysis of my bumps. Tired of the manipulation, I turned him over to the head of the bookseller, who was standing by, professing to be a better judge of another man's qualities than of my own. Now this bookseller was a singularly devout man, and the phrenologist instinctively

sought the bump of veneration, as the other bowed his head for him to feel it. The moment the fingers of the phrenologist touched the head, however, I saw that something was wrong, and I had the curiosity to put my own hand to the scull. In the spot where there should have been a bump, according to theory, there was positively a hollow. I looked at the phrenologist, and the phrenologist looked at me. At this moment the bookseller was called away by a customer, and I said to my acquaintance, "Well, what do you say to that?"—"Say? That I have no faith in that fellow's religion!"

Both the gentlemen laughed at this story, but Mr. Sotheby gave it a point that I had not anticipated, by intimating to Mr. Coleridge, pretty plainly, that when one discussed the subject of phrenology, he should not introduce his own bumps, as the subject of the experiments.

Notwithstanding two or three little rebukes of this nature, the poets got on very well together ; and finding that they had some rhymes to arrange between them, I left them to discuss the matter by themselves.

This was a poetical morning, for, on leaving Mr. Coleridge, we drove to the house of Miss Joanna Baillie, at Hampstead, a village that lies on the same range of low heights. Luckily, we found this clever, and respectable, and simple-minded woman in, and were admitted. I never knew a person of real genius who had any of the affectations of the smaller fry, on the subject of their feelings and sentiments. If Coleridge was scholastic and redundant, it was because he could not help himself ; to use a homely figure, it was a sort of boiling over of the pot on account of the intense heat beneath.

It has often been my luckless fortune to

meet with ladies who have achieved a common-place novel, or so, or who have written a *Julia*, or a *Matilda*, for a magazine, and who have ever after deemed it befitting their solemn vocation to assume lofty and didactic manners ; but Miss Baillie had none of this. She is a little, quiet, feminine woman, who you would think might shrink from grappling with the horrors of a tragedy, and whom it would be possible to mistake for the maiden sister of the curate, bent only on her homely duties. Notwithstanding this simplicity, however, there was a deeply-seated earnestness about her, that bespoke the good-faith and honesty of the higher impulses within.

After all, is it not these impulses that make what the world calls genius ? All men are sensible of truths when they are fairly presented to them, and is the difference between the select few and the many

any more than a quickening of the powers, by some physical incentive, which, in setting the whole in motion, throws into stronger light than common, the inventive, the beautiful, and the sublime ?

Let this be as it may, Miss Joanna Baillie had to me the air and appearance of a quiet enthusiast. She went with us to look at the village, and, as she walked ahead, to do the honours of the place, in her plain dark hat and cloak, I am certain, no one, at a glance, would have thought her little person contained the elements of a tragedy.

Something was said of a sketch of Napoleon, by Dr. Channing ; a work I had not seen. Miss Baillie allowed that it was clever, but objected to some one of its positions, that, though it was right enough for an American, it was not so right for an Englishman. As I had never read the sketch in question, I cannot tell you the

precise point to which she alluded ; and I mention it as another proof of a tone of reasoning that is sufficiently common here, by which there is an *abstract*, and a *quo ad hoc* right, in all things that touch political systems. This peculiarity has frequently struck me, and I think it so marked as to merit notice. I take it to be the inevitable consequence of all systems, in which the reasoning is adapted to the facts, and not the facts to the reasoning.

As we returned to town, we passed a group in which there was a ring for a boxing match ;—not a prize fight, but a set-to, in anger. Mr. Sotheby expressed a very natural disgust at this *human* tendency, (not *inhuman*, remember,) and then, with an exquisite *naïveté*, sympathized with me on the state of things, in this respect, in America, with some sufficiently obvious allusions to gouging ! Although

I have not passed ten months in England, in the course of four visits, I believe I have witnessed more fighting in it, between men, than I ever saw in America. But of what use is it to tell this, here? We are democrats, and bound by all the pandects of monarchical and aristocratical opinion to be truculent and quarrelsome; as, having no establishment, we are bound to be irreligious; and, so far from gaining credit, I should be set down as one too sensitive to see the faults of his own country.

Conversing with a very clever woman, the other day, on the subject of field sports; she gave a sudden shudder, and exclaimed —“But then your rattlesnakes!” I laughed, and told her, that I had never seen a rattlesnake, out of a cage, and that, particular places excepted, in a country nearly as large as Europe, they were unknown in America. She shook her head incredu-

lously, closing the conversation by observing, "that a *country* which contained rattlesnakes could scarcely be agreeable to walk in."—What are a thousand leagues to such an opinion?

Such notions is the American condemned to meet with here, not only daily, but hourly, and without ceasing, if he should mingle with the people. The prejudices of the English against us, against the land in which we live, against the entire nation, morally, physically, and politically, circulate in their mental systems, like the blood in their veins, until they become as inseparable from the thoughts and feelings, as the fluid of life is indispensable to vitality. I say it not in anger, but in sorrow, when I tell you, that I do not believe the annals of the world can present another such instance of a people so blindly, ignorantly, and culpably misjudging a friendly nation, as the manner in which England, at this moment, in

nearly all things, misjudges us. And yet, with this fact staring us in the face, known to every man who visits the country, a few *serviles* excepted—told to us by all foreigners, and as obvious as the sun at noon day, there is not, probably, an American, with the exception of political men who are sustained by party, that has a name of sufficient reputation to reach these shores, who does not hold his reputation at home, not only at the mercy of this country, but at the mercy of any miscreant in it, who may choose to insert three or four paragraphs, to his credit or discredit, in any of the periodicals of the day! Really, one is tempted to exclaim with that countryman who heard a salute from a seventy-four, “Now do I know we are a great people.”

My admiration of the growth and immensity of London increases every time I have occasion to pass its frontiers. I was

struck with a remark made to me, here, by Lord H——, who said—“the want of a capital is one of the greatest difficulties with which you have to contend in America.” Of course, he meant by a capital, not a seat of government, but a large town, in which the intelligence and influence of the country periodically assembled, and whence both might radiate, like warmth from the sun, throughout the nation.

It is not easy for any but close observers to estimate the influence of such places as London and Paris. They contribute, essentially, to national identity, and national tone, and national policy; in short, to nationality—a merit in which we are almost entirely wanting. I do not mean national sensitiveness, which some fancy is patriotism, though merely provincial jealousy, but that comprehensive unity of feeling and understanding, that renders a people alive to its true dignity

and interests, and prompt to sustain them, as well as independent in their opinions. We are even worse off than most other nations would be without a capital, for we have an anomalous principle of *dispersion* in the state capitals.

In nothing is the American government more wanting, than in tone in all its foreign relations. What American, out of his own country, feels any dependance on its protection? No one, who has any knowledge of its real action. Such an accumulation of wrongs may be made as to touch the community, and then it is ready enough to fight; but the *individual*, who should urge his own injuries on the nation, as a case that called for interference, would be crushed by the antagonist interests of commerce, which is now the only collected and concentrated interest of the nation. An Englishman, or a Frenchman, goes into distant countries, with a consciousness that he

leaves behind him a concentrated and powerful sentiment of nationality, that will throw its protection around him, even to the remotest verge of civilization ; but the case is altogether different with the American. If a man of reflection and knowledge, he knows that there is no concentrated feeling at home to sustain him ; that the moment any case arises to set his claims to justice in opposition to the trading interests, he becomes obnoxious to the plastic ethics of commerce, and that there is no condensed community to sustain the government in doing what is clearly its duty, and what may even be its inclination. Public opinion, half the time, is formed in America by downright impudent simulations ; for little more is necessary than to assert, that Boston and Philadelphia think so and so, to get New York to join the cry. Such things are not so easily practised in a capital, where the in-

telligence of a nation is concentrated, which is the focus of facts, and where men become habituated to the arts of the intriguing and selfish. I believe Lord H— is right, and that the want of a capital, on a scale commensurate with that of the nation, is indeed one of the greatest difficulties with which we have to contend. We shall never become truly a nation, until we get one. These notions will probably seem odd, and certainly new to you, as indeed they are new to me; but it is not a good mode of getting correct ideas of even oneself to remain always at one's own fireside.

LETTER XXV.

TO J. E. DE KAY, ESQ. NEW YORK.

London Passages.—National Theatres.—The Stage.—Captain Hall.—American Society and Pronunciation.—Royal Birth-day.—The Horse-Guards.—American Grandiloquence.—Gorgeous Spectacle.—Line of Carriages.—Female Beauty.—Coachmen.—A Royal Princess.—Newspaper Reports.

MR. ROGERS came to me the other evening on one of his friendly visitations, and I went out with him, not well knowing what was to be the result of it. We trot along the streets together, he a little on the lead, for he is a capital and an earnest walker, and I in the rear, getting over the pavement at the rate of four miles the hour.

London has certain private ways, called passages, I believe, by which one can avoid

the carriages, and much of the streets, besides greatly shortening the distances. We took to a line of these passages, and came out in Leicester Square. Crossing this, we pursued our way as far as the theatres, and entered that of Covent Garden. As I had nothing to do, but to follow my leader, who had certain signals, by means of which he appeared to go just where he pleased, I soon found myself in a private box, quite near the stage, and nearly on a level with the pit. There was a sedate, elderly man in possession, already, but he proved to be an acquaintance of my companion, who whispered a few words, and then presented me to him, as to the vice-chancellor, Sir John Leach.

The play was intended to represent some of the sports and practices of ancient London, but the chief merit was the scenery. As it is fair to presume that the best authorities had been consulted, I had a great

deal of pleasure in looking at the quaint pictures that were successively presented to us, by some of which it was evident that our progenitors built very much in the rude style that is still to be seen in the towns of Picardy and Normandy, and that, whatever London may be now, she has not always been a wonder of the world.

The house was much larger than any of our own, it was better lighted, and had a neater and fresher look, in despite of London and coal dust. The audience was, quite evidently, composed of people of a class much beneath the highest, still it had a well-dressed and a respectable air ; and, although its taste was sometimes to be questioned, it was well mannered. In short, it was very much like what our own better theatres used to exhibit, before the inroad of the Goths. The playing was scarcely to be distinguished from what one usually sees

in America, though it was perhaps a little more decided in its English tone. Mr. Charles Kemble was among the actors. The circumstances that the lower tier was reserved for people in evening dress, and that the men sat with their hats off, gave the spectacle an appearance of respectability and *comfort* (to use an Anglicism) that is now seldom seen in any of our own places of public resort.

It is an immense advantage to possess a National Theatre. Our moralists have made a capital blunder in setting their faces against the stage ; since, while demonstrating their own inability to put it down, they have thrown it almost entirely into the hands of those who look only to pecuniary advantages. It should be patronized and regulated by the state, as the best means of giving it a true direction, and of checking, if not of totally repressing its abuses. The common argument, that

theatres are places of resort for the vicious, and particularly for women of light manners, is built on narrow views and great ignorance of the world. In many countries the *churches* are used for the purposes of intrigue, and yet it would hardly be thought a sufficient argument for abandoning them entirely.

The English government retains a supervision of the stage, a thing that is well enough if well managed ; but, in all countries in which the institutions are not founded on the mass, the tendency of censorships is to protect the systems, and, in order to do this with the least odium, they get to be loose on points that are more essential to a pure morality. Vice is frequently thrown out as a sop, to keep the mass quiet under the restraints of despotism.

We are still too young and too provincial for a national theatre. Nothing

can be safer than to write or to talk in *praise* of America, and all it contains, more especially of its *things*; but few men have yet nerve enough to tell an unpalatable truth. We have a one-sided liberty of speech and of the press, that renders every one right valorous in eulogies, but even the pulpit shrinks from its sacred duties on many of the most besetting, the most palpable, and the most common of our vices. It is bold enough as to vague generalities, and sometimes as to personalities, but who ever sees the caustic applied to the public? The stage, a little later, may be made the most efficient corrective of American manners, but, in the true spirit of village resentment and of provincial sensibilities, a dramatist could hardly expose a failing now, that the whole audience would not be ready to cry out, "Do you mean me, sir?"

We are much laughed at here, just now,

for the manner in which the press is representing the late book of Captain Hall. No nation is very philosophical under abuse, and certainly the English are surprisingly thin-skinned for a people as proud, and possessing so many just claims to greatness. The fact is, both nations are singularly conceited on the subject of national character, giving themselves credit for a good many exclusive qualities to which they have no exclusive pretensions, and by dint of self-glorification, in which the presses of the two countries have been particularly active, they have got, at last, to look upon every man who denies their exaggerated demands as a sort of robber. Perhaps no other people praise themselves so openly; offensively and industriously as those of England and America, and I have no doubt the newspapers are a principal cause that this failing is so coarsely exhi-

bited ; for, as to its mere existence, I fancy there is no great difference in the amount of vanity, as between nations, or as between individuals.

I have been much surprised, however, at observing that, while all America appears to be up in arms against Captain Hall, on account of his hits at our manners, no one seems disposed to take up the gauntlet in defence of the institutions ! I know no writer who is more vulnerable in his facts, or in his reasoning on politics, than this gentleman ; and yet, while so much ink is shed in behalf of a gentility and civilisation that it would become us rather to improve and refine, than to defend, the glorious political facts of the country are treated as if unworthy of attention. Can all this proceed from the circumstance that we are conscious the latter can take care of themselves, while we

secretly distrust the claims of the former ?
No violence would be done to human na-
ture if this should actually be the case.

The greatest objection I have to the book of Mr. Hall, is that it *insinuates* more than it proves, or even asserts. This is the worst species of detraction, for it admits of neither refutation nor denial. But I cannot express to you the disgust I have felt, as a looker-on at a distance, at reading in the journals the mean-spirited anticipations of what Mr. Hall was to do for us, in the way of raising the character of the nation, and the low personal abuse that has succeeded, the moment it is found that these anticipations are not realized. To be frank with you, one appears to be as discreditable to the tone, feelings, tastes, and facts of the nation as the other.

It would be next to impossible for an Englishman, on a short acquaintance, to like the state of society that exists in Ame-

rica. I never knew one that did, nor do I believe that it is agreeable to any European, let him come from what part of Europe he will. It is necessary that habit should smooth down many asperities before this can be the case ; nor do I think that many Americans like England, if they go beyond the outside, until time has done a similar office in its favour. I am not disposed to quarrel with any Englishman, who says frankly, Your society is not to my liking ; it wants order, tone, finish, simplicity, and manliness ; having substituted in their stead, pretension, noise, a childish and rustic irritability, and a confusion in classes. These defects are so obvious to a man of the world, that one cannot but distrust the declarations that are sometimes made to the contrary. Notwithstanding this admission, I have little doubt that most of the books of travels that have been published in Eng-

land, and in which America has been held up to ridicule, have been addressed to the prejudices of the nation; written in that particular vein, because it has been believed it would be more likely to please than any other. Very few of them discover honesty of intention, a trait that is usually detected even in the midst of blunders; but it happens that this work of Captain Hall does possess this redeeming quality.*

* Captain Hall says, that the houses of America struck him as being only half furnished. On the other hand, the Duke Bernard, of Saxe Weimar, who landed in Boston, coming from England, says that he thought the houses appeared better furnished than those he had just left in Great Britain. On this testimony, the Quarterly joins issue, insinuating that no one can hesitate to believe that a *captain in his majesty's navy* is a better judge in these matters than a mere *German Duke!* The exquisite twaddle of such reasoning exposes itself, and yet, in his main fact, Captain Hall is unquestionably right. So far as we go, our furniture is generally handsomer than that of England, and Duke Bernard has possibly formed his opinion from particular houses, but nothing is truer than that the American houses appear naked to one coming from either France or England.

The pronunciation of the stage is the same here, as it is with us. That of the world is not essentially different from the best pronunciation of the Middle States, though, in many respects, much better than that of what is now called their *society*. Certainly, as a nation, we speak better than the English ; but it is absurd to set up the general language of the educated classes of America, as being as pure as the language of the same classes here. I do not make this remark in reference to those words whose pronunciation varies, but in reference to those concerning whose provincialism there can be no dispute. The women of this country have a distinct, quiet, and regulated utterance, that is almost unknown in their own sex in America. Their voices are more like *contr'altos* than those of our women, who have a very peculiar shrillness, and they manage them much better ; indeed, we are almost

in a state of nature on all these points. The manners of the country are decidedly worse now, in everything, than they were thirty years since; a fact, that must be attributed to the *pèle méle* produced by a rapid growth and extraordinary prosperity.

While on the subject of representations, I will mention one that has been a little out of the usual course, even for England. We have had a birthday lately, and as George IV. seldom appears in public, the festivities on this occasion have been more than usually brilliant. One of the usages, here, is to bring out young females, by presenting them at court, and, so particular are the true adherents to etiquette, that I am told many young ladies, who have passed the proper age, have been waiting two or three years for this ceremony, in order to make their appearance in the world. At all events, every one

has seemed disposed to make the most of the opportunity that has just offered, and we have had a greater show of magnificence, and a much greater throng of courtiers, than it is usual to see, even in this country, in which the king is probably as much flattered as fettered.

As our residence is so near the palace, I had every facility for seeing what was going on without putting myself to inconvenience. One of the first movements was the march of the horse-guards from their barracks to the palace. These troops have a wide-spread reputation for size and magnificence. They are large men, certainly, but must be next to useless in a campaign. Indeed, they are kept for state ; though they may be of service in quelling riots, in a town like London, their appearance being well adapted to terrifying an unarmed mob. In size, they are considerably beyond the French *gardes du corps* ; but the latter are

very numerous, while there cannot be more than a few hundred of the former. Nor are these all English, for, walking behind two of them, the other day, I overheard them speaking like foreigners. They are probably picked up, like the tall men of Frederic, wherever they can be found. It is not impossible that there may be a stray Yankee among them, as there are several in the French army.

The march of these imposing troops was preceded by a fine band on horseback, and the music was the signal for the crowd to collect. There were two ways of entering the palace, one private, and the other public. The princes, foreign ministers, accompanied by those they were about to present, the great officers of the kingdom and court, and certain of the privileged, used the former, while the more common herd of courtiers went by the latter. The first were set down in a court near what is called the

Stable-yard, and the latter at the foot of St. James's street.

There is a simple good sense, not to call it good taste, that distinguishes the English from their more ambitious kinsmen, our worthy selves, in all matters connected with names. This of "Stable-yard" is one in point; for with us it would be the "stadium," or the "gymnasium," if, indeed, it escaped being called the "Campus Martius." The tendency is to exaggeration, in men, to whom learning, modes of living, and, indeed, most other things, are new, and the mass being better educated than common with us, without, however, being sufficiently educated to create a taste for simplicity, and, at the same time, having an usual influence, we are kept a little more on stilts in such matters than one could wish. This defect pervades the ordinary language of the country too, and, sooner or later, will totally corrupt it,

if the proportion of the unformed to the formed goes on increasing at the rate it has done for the last ten years.*

I stood in the “Stable-yard,” vulgar as the name will sound to “ears polite,” witnessing the arrival of princes, ambassadors, and dukes, and much struck with the magnificence of their carriages. Certainly, I had seen nothing equalling it in Paris, though the every-day style of the King of France materially surpasses that of the King of England. After all, I thought the gorgeous vehicles, with their coronets rising

* Quite lately, the writer got into a rail-road car at Bordenton, at a place where the company have since erected a large warehouse or shed : some one observing the signs of a building around the car, inquired what they meant. The writer, who sat by a window, was about to say, “They have laid the foundations of a large house here,” when a fellow-traveller, who occupied the other window, anticipated him, by saying that, “Judging by external symptoms, they have commenced the construction of an edifice of considerable magnitude, calculated, most likely, to facilitate the objects of the rail-road company.” One would not wish to lose the cause of this disposition to the grandiose, but it is to be regretted that sublimity is getting to be so common.

above their tops, the gildings and the lace much less pleasing than the simple perfection of the common carriages of the country, in which everything is beautiful, because nothing is overdone. M. de Polignac and Prince Esterhazy were both present, the one as the French, the other as the Austrian ambassador. The Duke of Gloucester, the cousin and brother-in-law of the king, came in state, as it is termed, having three footmen in elaborate liveries and wearing a sort of jockey caps, instead of hats, clinging behind his carriage. He was himself a fine looking man, with a good prominent profile and a full contented face, dressed in the uniform of a field marshal.

But I soon tired of the mere raree show. Accompanied by a friend, I went round to the line of carriages in St. James's street, which, by this time, could not set down the company nearly as fast as the vehicles ar-

rived at the other end. There were, in fact, two lines, one in St. James's street, and the other in Pall Mall, and overhearing some one speak of the great length of the former, we determined to walk to the other extremity of it, as the shortest method of satisfying our curiosity ; to receive the passing instead of the standing salute.

I should think that this one line of carriages extended quite two miles. In the whole distance there was not a hackney coach, for London is as unlike Paris as possible in this respect. The carriages for a great part of the distance were drawn up quite close to the side-walks, in order to leave the centre of the streets free for the privileged to come and go, and perhaps, also, to permit a freer circulation of the crowd. In consequence of the wheels being nearly in the gutters, and the English carriages being hung quite low, our heads

were almost on a level with those of the occupants of the different equipages. In this manner, then, we walked slowly along the line, examining the courtiers at our leisure by broad day-light, and much nearer than we could have got to most of them in the palace. The crowd took it all in very good part, appearing to regard it as an exhibition to which they were admitted gratis.

Some of the people, who, by the way, were well dressed, and well behaved as a whole, stood looking in at the carriage windows with quite as much coolness as if they were the proprietors chatting with their own wives and daughters. Now and then, a footman would remonstrate against the impertinence, but, in the main, the women seemed resigned to their fate. Similar liberties with us would be natural excesses of democracy! For the reasons already mentioned, there was a larger proportion than common of young women to

be presented, and it may be questioned if the world could have offered a parallel to the beauty and bloom that were thus arrayed before our eyes. I have elsewhere said that the English females have the advantage of ours in high dress, and this was altogether a ceremony in which the advantage was of their side. I do not think that we could have shown as much beauty, in precisely the same style; although, when one remembers the difference between a scattered and a condensed population, it becomes him to speak with caution on a point so delicate.

The ancient court dress, particularly that of the women, has undergone some changes of late, I believe. I am told the hoop is done away with, though it was not easy to ascertain the fact to-day, as I only saw the ladies seated. The *coiffures* were good, and the *toilettes*, as a matter of course, magnificent. Diamonds sparkled among eyes scarcely less brilliant than

themselves. In France, diamonds are seldom used, except at court; though it is probable, that they are oftener exhibited here, the court being so secluded. On this occasion, however, they were seen in great quantities, enthroned on some of the fairest brows of Christendom.

The men, with the usual exceptions of those who wore their regular professional attire, were all in the well known claret-coloured coat, steel buttons, bags, swords, and embroidered vests. As many of those who came alone preferred walking to and from their carriages, to waiting an hour for their approach, we had a good many of these gentry in the streets, where they gave the crowd a little of the air of a carnival masquerade. There is great simplicity in the dress of the men of England, however; even on great occasions like this, much of the more tawdry taste being reserved expressly for the footmen.

But, apart from the lovely faces of the

young and fair of England, the out-door glory of the day was borne away by the coachmen. Every one of them had a new wig, and many of them capped the flaxens with as rare specimens of castors as ever came out of a shop. It would be scarcely accurate to call these hats cocked, for they were altogether too *coquet* and knowing for a term so familiar. Figure to yourself, the dignity of a portly man of fifty, with a sky-blue coat laced on all its seams, red plush breeches, white silk stockings, shoe-buckles as large as a muffin, a smug wig, a shovel-nosed hat edged with broad gold lace, and a short snub nose of his own as red as a cherry, and you will get some idea of these dignitaries.

When we had returned from examining the long line of carriages, I met one of the princesses in a sedan chair, on her way from the palace to her own residence. She was attended by six or eight footmen, in the jockey caps, and scarlet liveries. Her

face was pallid and wrinkled, and as she was no longer young, her appearance had that unearthly and unseemly look, that always marks the incongruity between age and the toilet. Some of the most *uncomfortable*, (you see how English I am getting) some of the most *uncomfortable* objects I have seen in Europe, have been women in the “sear and yellow leaf,” tricked out for courts and balls, and bedizened with paint and jewels. This is a folly, at least, which we have as yet escaped ; for if we do abandon society to those who had better be practising their *gammes*, or kicking foot-ball on a college green, we do not attempt to still the thoughts of the grave by these glaring and appalling vanities.

The scene closed with a procession of mail-coaches, which, however neat and seemly the set-outs, had too much the air of a cockney show to detain us from our dinner.

If the English are simple and tasteful in so much of their magnificence, and, apart from its occasional ponderousness, these are its prevailing characteristics, they are more than usually studied and artificial in extolling it, when all is over. The papers delight in the histories of great dinners, and fashionable balls; and I have been solemnly assured there are people that get into society, who are actually guilty of the meanness of paying for the insertion of their names in the list of the company that is regularly published. As to a drawing-room at court, it is a little fortune to the newsfinders. A guinea introduces the name, five guineas insures immortality to the dress, and ten brings in the carriage. This, you will see, is making great men, and great women, on a principle still unknown with us, where we manufacture them in such quantities, and swear they are the best in the market.

LETTER XXVI.

TO JAMES STEVENSON, ESQ., ALBANY, N. Y.

Poor of England.—Servants of all-work.—Continental Domestics.—American Slaves.—Poverty in England.—Human Happiness.—Spirit of Gain.—Want of Happiness.—Music in England.—Street Music.

THE question is often asked, in what do the poor of England suffer more than the poor of any other country ? I am not sufficiently versed in the details connected with the subject to speak with authority, but I can give you the impressions received, as a looker-on.

In comparing the misery of England with that of the continent of Europe, one must remember the great difference of climate. A man suffers less at Naples,

without a coat or a fire, and with three *grani* for his daily pittance, than is undergone in England, beneath woollen, with ten *grani* to furnish the “ways and means.” These facts make a great moral difference in favour of England, when we come to consider the merits of systems, though the physical consequences may be against her.

The poor of this country appear to me to be overworked. They have little or no time for relaxation; and instead of exhibiting that frank, manly cheerfulness, and heartiness of feeling that have been so much extolled, they appear sullen, discontented, and distrustful. There is far less confidence and sympathy between classes, than I had expected to see; for, although a good understanding may exist between the great landholder and the affluent yeoman who pays him rent, and farms the soil, the social chain appears

to be broken between those below the latter and their superiors. I do not mean that the rich are obdurate to the sufferings of the poor, but that the artificial condition of the country has choked the ordinary channels of sympathy, and that the latter, when known at all, are known only as the *poor*. They are the objects of duties, rather than fellow-creatures living constantly within the influence of all the charities, including those of communion and rights, as well as those which are exhibited in donations.

There is one large class of beings, in England, whose condition I should think less enviable than that of Asiatic slaves. I allude to the female servants of all-work, in the families of those who keep lodging-houses, tradesmen, and other small house-keepers. These poor creatures have an air of dogged sullen misery that I have never seen equalled in any other class of

human beings, not even excepting the beggars in the streets. In our lodgings at Southampton there was one of these girls, and her hand was never idle, her foot seemed to know no rest, while her manner was that of wearied humility. We were then fresh from home, and the unmitigated toil of her existence struck us all most painfully. When we spoke to her kindly, she seemed startled, and looked distrustful and frightened. A less inviting subject for sympathy could scarcely be imagined, for she was large, coarse, robust, and even masculine, but even these iron qualities were taxed beyond endurance.

I should not draw a picture like this, on the authority of a single instance. I have seen too much to corroborate the first impressions, and make no doubt that the case of the woman at Southampton was the rule, and that instances of better

treatment make the exceptions. In one of my bachelor visits here, I had lodgings in which there was a still more painful example. The mistress of this house was married and had children, and being a lazy slattern, with three sets of lodgings in the house, her tyranny exceeded all I had ever before witnessed. You are to understand that the solitary servant, in these houses, is usually cook, housemaid, and waiter. When the lodger keeps no servant, she answers his bell, as well as the street-door knocker, and goes on all his errands that do not extend beyond a proper distance. The girl was handsome, had much delicacy of form and expression, and an eye that nature had intended to be brilliant and spirited. She could not be more than twenty-two or three, but misery had already driven her to the bottle. I saw her only at the street-door, and on two or three occasions when she

answered my own bell, in the absence of my man. At the street-door, she stood with her eyes on the carpet, and when I made my acknowledgments for the trouble she had taken, she curtsied hurriedly, and muttered the usual “Thankee, sir.” When she came into my room, it was on a sort of drilled trot, as if she had been taught a particular movement to denote assiduity and diligence, and she never presumed to raise her eyes to mine, but stood the whole time looking meekly down. For every order I was duly thanked! One would think that all this was hard to be borne, but, a day or two before I left the house, I found her weeping in the street. She had disengaged her lazy exacting mistress, by staying out ten minutes too long on an errand, and had lost her place. I took the occasion to give her a few shillings as her due for past services, but so complete was her misery

in being turned away without a character, that even the sight of money failed to produce the usual effects. I make little doubt she took refuge in gin, the bane of thousands and tens of thousands of her sex in this huge theatre of misery and vice.

The order, method, and punctuality of the servants of England are all admirable. These qualities probably contribute quite as much to their own comfort as to that of their masters and mistresses. It is seldom that well-bred persons, anywhere, are unkind to their menials, though they are sometimes exacting through ignorance of the pain they are giving. The tyranny comes from those who always appear to feel a desire to revenge their own previous hardships on the unfortunate creatures whom chance puts in their power. I do not know that the English of condition are unkind to their domestics; the

inference would fairly be that they are not ; but there is something, either in the system that has unfortunately been adopted, or in the character of the people, which has introduced a distance between the parties that must be injurious to the character of those who serve.

On the continent of Europe the art of managing domestics appears to be understood much better than it is here. A body servant is considered as a sort of humble friend, being treated with confidence but without familiarity, nor can I say I have often witnessed any want of proper respect on the part of the domestics. The old Princess de ——, who was a model of grace and propriety in her deportment, never came to see my wife, without saying something kind or flattering to her *femme de chambre*, who usually admitted her and saw her out. A French servant expects to be spoken to, when

you meet on the stairs, in the court, or in the garden, and would be hurt without a “*bonjour*” at meeting, or an “*adieu*” at parting. A French duke would be very apt to take off his hat, if he had occasion to go into the porter’s lodge, or into the servants’ hall ; but I think very little of this courtesy would be practised here. It is our misfortune to try to imitate the English in this, as in other things, and I make little question, one of the principal reasons why our servants are so bad, is owing to their not being put on the proper footing of confidential dependants.

The comparison between the condition of the common English house-servant and that of the American slave is altogether in favour of the latter, if the hardship of compelled servitude be kept out of view. The negro, bond or free, is treated much more kindly and with greater friendship, than most of the English domestics ; the

difference in colour, with the notions that have grown up under them, removing all distrust of danger from familiarity. This is not said with a view to turn the tables on our kinsmen for their numberless taunts and continued injustice ; for, with such an object, I think something more original and severe might easily be got up ; but simply because I believe it to be true. Perhaps the servants of no country have more enviable places than the American slaves, so far as mere treatment and the amount of labour are concerned.

One prominent feature of poverty, in England, is dependent on causes which ought not to be ascribed to the system. If a man can be content to live on a few grapes, and a pound of coarse bread, and to go without a coat, or a fire, in a region like that of Naples, it does not necessarily follow, that another ought to be able to do the same things in a country in which

there are no grapes, in which a fire is necessary, and a coat indispensable. The high civilization of England unquestionably contributes also to the misery of the very poor, by augmenting their wants, though it adds greatly to the comforts of those who are able to sustain themselves. As between the Americans and the English, it is not saying much, under the peculiar circumstances of their respective countries, that the poor of the former are immeasurably better off than the poor of the latter; but, apart from certain advantages of climate in favour of the South of Europe, I am not at all certain that the poor of England, as a body, do not fare quite as well as the poor of any other part of Christendom. I know little more of the matter, however, than meets the eye of an ordinary traveller; but, taking that as a guide, I think I should prefer being a pauper in England to being a

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beggar in France. I now speak of physical sufferings altogether, for on all points that relate to the feelings, admitting that the miserable still retain any sentiment on such points, I think England the least desirable country for a poor man that I know.

The notion that so generally prevails in America, on the subject of the independence and manliness of the English, certainly does not apply to the body of the poor, nor do I think the tradesmen, in general, have as much of these qualities as those of France. The possession of their franchises, at a time when such privileges were rare, may have given some claims to a peculiar character of this nature; but while the pressure of society has been gradually weighing heavier and heavier on the nation, creating the dependence of competition and poverty, in lieu of that of political power, the other coun-

tries of Europe have lessened their legal oppression, until, I think, the comparison has got to be in their favour. I should say there is quite as little manly independence in the intercourse between classes, here, as in any country I have visited.

It is a common result of temporal advantages and civilization, and, perhaps, to be accounted for on obvious principles, that they should fail to bestow the happiness at which we profess to aim. I do not think that either the English or the Americans are a happy people. The possession of a certain physical civilization soon becomes necessary to our wants, but we rather miss them when they are lost, than enjoy them when possessed. In this particular, Providence has singularly equalized the lot of men ; for being mere creatures of habit, advantages of this kind neutralize themselves. The sort of happiness that is dependent solely on material

things, after the first wants are supplied, is purely relative, and the relation is to our knowledge, rather than to any standard that exists in nature. He who has appeased his hunger with bread, and slaked his thirst with water, is just as well off, so far as his appetites are concerned, as he who has eaten a *ragout*, and drunk Johannisberger. This is said, however, solely in reference to hunger and thirst; for I make little doubt character a good deal depends on diet, and that the art with which materials are put together is of more consequence than the viands themselves.

Human happiness would seem to be dependent on three primary causes—the intellect, the affections, and that which is physical. A certain portion of all, with their accompanying misery, is unquestionably the general lot, though so unequally distributed. But, making the proper allowances for a common nature,

we are to distinguish between the consequences of particular conditions of society. The greatest obstacle to all our enjoyments is worldly care, and as we increase what is deemed our civilisation, we augment the cares by which they are to be acquired or retained. There is, certainly, a medium in this matter, as in everything else; but as few are disposed to respect it, it may be set down as unattainable in practice. I believe more people are unhappy because they cannot possess certain indulgences, or because, when possessed, they have been bought too dear, than because they never knew them at all.

It has long struck me that the term "happy country," is singularly misapplied, as regards America; and, I believe, also as regards this country. It is true, it has a conventional meaning, in which sense it may be well enough; but, comparing the people of France, or Italy,

with those of England, or the United States, all external symptoms must be treacherous, or the former have greatly the advantage. By placing incentives before us to make exertions, the El Dorado of our wishes is never obtained, and we pass our lives in vain struggles to reach a goal that recedes as we advance. This, you will be apt to say, is the old truism of the moralist, and proves as much against one nation, as against another. I think the latter position untrue. Competition may be pushed so far as to neutralise all its fruits, by inciting to envy and strife. In America, for instance, all the local affections are sacrificed to the spirit of gain. The man who should defend the roof of his fathers, against an inroad of speculators, would infallibly make enemies, and meet with persecution. Thus is he precluded from one source of happiness that is connected with the af-

fections ; for, though the law might protect him, opinion, which is stronger than law, would sooner or later drive him from his fireside. I know very well this is merely a consequence of a society in the course of establishing itself, but it shows how vulnerable is our happiness.

But, putting all theory out of the question, neither the English nor the Americans have the air and manners of a happy people, like the French and the Italians. The first have a sullen, thoughtful look, as if distrustful of the future, which gives one the idea that their enjoyments are deferred to a more favourable opportunity ; while the two last seem to live as time goes on. Something of this is probably owing to temperament ; but temperament itself has, in part, a moral origin. As to the Americans, there are very many reasons for their want of happiness. The settlement of an immense

country snaps the family ties, though the constant migration has the effect to produce an amalgamated whole. The tendency of things generally, with us, is to destroy all individuality of character and feeling, and to concentrate everything in the common identity. One would be set down for an aristocrat, who should presume to enjoy himself independently of his neighbours. It is true, that so far as gain is concerned, there is an exception, the absence of restriction giving free exercise to personal efforts; but when money is obtained by individual enterprise, it must be used, in a greater degree than common, in conformity with the feeling of the nation. One disposed to cavil at the institutions, might almost fancy the public had a jealousy of a man's possessing kinsmen that were not thrown into the general stock. But this weakness of the family tie, in America, is to be

ascribed to other causes, among which the constant migrations, as I have just observed, have a conspicuous place. Let the reason be what it will, the effect is to cut us off from a large portion of the happiness that is dependent on the affections.

Then the whole Anglo-Saxon race is deficient in the enjoyments that are so much dependent on the tastes. While there is even a vein of higher poetical feeling than common among a few exceptions, as if nature delighted in extremes, the mass have little relish for poetry, scarcely any good music, and appear to be absolutely wanting in those sentiments which throw so much grace around the rustic amusements of other countries. One might account for these peculiarities in the Americans, by their fanatical origin, and peculiar physical condition; but they are almost as true as respects England itself, as they are with us. The Germans,

and other northern nations, the nearest to us in extraction, have a wild poetry in their most vulgar superstitions that is not found here. They cultivate music, and have a deep feeling for it, as an art. This single fact is coupled with one of the highest enjoyments with which we are gifted. The music of America is beneath contempt. We are probably worse off in this particular than any other civilised people, though certainly improving. The English, though greatly our superiors, are much behind all the other European nations with which I am acquainted. The music of the people has a cast of vulgarity about it, like our own, that of itself denotes a want of feeling for the art. Even the French, by no means a people of poetical tastes, are greatly their superiors in music. One seldom hears a vulgar air even among the *bas peuple*.

I make little doubt, that, in time, we shall surpass the English in this art.

All these peculiarities diminish the enjoyments of the English ; but, it strikes me, that the principal reason why these people and the Americans are less happy than usual, is to be found in the fact that, by admitting civilisation, men admit cares, whose moral evils are not compensated for, until one reaches a degree of cultivation far above the level of mediocrity. There is, unquestionably, much physical suffering, all over Europe, that is virtually unknown with us, but the remarks just made are meant to apply to those who are removed from the first wants of life. Both England and America strike me as being countries of facts rather than of feelings. We are almost purely so ; but the English have one great advantage over us, in being a country of

ideas, if not of sentiments and affections. The difference is owing to our youth.

Passons au déluge :—Speaking of the music of England, you are not to understand that there is no good music here. The gold of the country attracts the first artists of Europe, as a matter of course ; but even the cultivated English have, quite obviously, not much more feeling for the art than we have ourselves. As a greater portion travel, their tastes are a little more cultivated than those of our people ; but nothing strikes one sooner, than the obvious difference in feeling between an English audience at the opera, and one on the continent of Europe.

Still, the street music of London is positively the best in the world. The improvement in the last few years, even, is quite apparent. Respectable artists, such as would gladly be received in our orchestras, walk the streets, and play the music of

Rossini, Mozart, Beethoven, Meyerbeer, Weber, &c. beneath your windows. London is not as well arranged for this species of enjoyment as the towns of the Continent, for there are no courts in which the performers can get, away from the clamour of the streets ; but, about eight, the carriages cease, everybody being at dinner, and most of the more private places are quite silent. Since the weather has become mild, I have frequently paused in my evening walks, to listen to airs that have come from the harp, violin, and flageolet, and have almost fancied myself in Venice, or Naples, though surrounded by the dingy bricks of London. A party of French have found us out, and they come regularly twice a week, and play old French airs beneath the windows ; favours that are seldom conferred on private houses, the public hotels being their usual stopping places. The secret of this

unusual feature in the town, is in the fact, that where an Italian, or a Frenchman, though filled with enthusiasm, would bestow a few sous, the Englishman, with immovable muscles, throws out half-a-crown. Walking to a dinner, the other evening, I heard a grand piano, on which some one was playing an overture of Rossini, accompanied by a flageolet, and, going a little out of my way to ascertain the cause, I found the artist in the street, seated before the open windows of a hotel. He trundled the machine about on a sort of wheelbarrow, and his execution was quite equal to what one usually hears in society.

I cannot describe to you the influence these sweet sounds, especially when they revive the recollections of other and more genial lands, have over the feelings. These are the moments in which men may be said truly to live, and half an

hour of such delight is worth a year passed in listening to the prices of lots, and to the variation of the markets. Music is certainly a good *article*!

LETTER XXVII.

TO JACOB SUTHERLAND, ESQ. GENEVA.

Apprehension of Russia.—Anglo-mania.—Foreign Policy.—Re-colonization.—Scheme of Demagogues.—Anecdote.—Mr. Huskisson.—Mr. Cobbett.—English Critics and English Influence.—National Weakness.—English Jealousy.—Administration of Mr. Adams.

AMID the affected disdain that is so often assumed by the press and orators of England when there is occasion to allude to America, a lively jealousy of the growing power of the republic is easily discovered. But, one at a distance, like yourself, may not be aware of the extent to which this feeling is allied with apprehension of Russia. The wise policy of Alexander created affinities of an alarm-

ing nature between the government of Russia and that of America, and, mingled with a reluctance to give us fair words and honest treatment, that goes nigh to choke them, the statesmen, here, are beginning to feel the necessity of counter-acting some of the bad consequences of their own former blunders.

Heaven bless the Quarterly Review, say I! Although I am far from boasting of the mental independence of the republic,—for few men can be more strongly impressed with the dangerous character of the practice that so generally prevails at home, of reasoning and feeling on all questions of polity like Englishmen, instead of Americans,—I do believe the Quarterly Review has done more towards alienating the feelings of America from Great Britain, than the two wars, the commercial rivalries, the orders in council, impressment, the Henry plot, and all the

other points of national dissension united. This may sound extravagant, but I am not the only person of this way of thinking ; and it is certain, the facts being too notorious to admit of dispute, that several of our prominent men, who were formerly most subject to the Anglo-mania, have been converted to a more healthful state of feeling, in consequence of their having been, accidentally, personal sharers in the abuse that has been so lavishly heaped on the nation. I have laughed heartily at the writhings of a certain instructor, under whom you and I, when boys, were condemned to hear all things English lauded to the skies ; but who, having been roughly handled, as a writer, in this very Quarterly, has since come out manfully in vindication, as it is called, of the country, or in other words of its *things*, and, in reality, of himself.

This is a species of independence of

which there will never be a lack. Let us be grateful, however, for this much, and thank our stars and the Quarterly accordingly. When I rejoice in the alienation of the feelings of America from England, it is not that I could wish to see our own nation on worse terms with this than with any other, but under the full conviction that we must pass through some such process of alienation before we shall ever get to consider the English in the only mode that is either safe or honourable for one independent people to regard another. The constant infusion of new prejudices and partialities by the agency of emigrants, and the manner in which we are obliged to depend on England for our literature, has rendered the change singularly slow ; nor does it strike me that what is actually going on, is taking the right direction. We no longer believe that an English apple is better

than an American apple, it is true; or even an English hog, or a horse; but we do not the less believe in English political principles, although nothing can be more apparent than the fact that these principles have been established as a consequence of a factitious, and, in some measure, a fortuitous condition of society, to which our own system is, perhaps, more antagonist than that of any other Christian state.

Keeping the question of our moral dependence out of view, and returning to this country, I think the jealousy of Russia is about to produce a change of policy as respects America. It is quite impossible for one never out of America to appreciate the nature and extent of the interest that all the higher classes, here, feel in their foreign policy. In America, we are almost in a state of nature as regards everything of the sort, the world

furnishing no example perhaps of a people so much neglecting all the great interests that are not placed immediately before their eyes.* Did the people of the United States understand their true situation, the intentions, expectations, and wishes of this part of the world, they would at once exhibit a naval force that should demonstrate the hazards of incurring their just resentment.

* One may form some notion of the condition of the foreign policy of the country, by a fact that has come to the knowledge of the writer, under circumstances that leave no doubt, in his mind, of its authenticity. An American was at Washington applying for some diplomatic appointment, at the moment Congress had the subject of the French reprisals, as recommended by the President, before them. Of so much greater importance did this *diplomatic agent* deem foreign than native support, that he is said to have written letters to Paris assuring his friends there, that neither the nation nor Congress would sustain the President in his proposition! One or more of these letters came into American hands, and were returned to Washington. In two instances, while in Europe, the writer found Englishmen employed in the legations at low salaries; and, of course, the secrets of the government were put at the disposal of foreign mercenaries.

Some of our early diplomatists in Europe, when men of talents and character were alone employed in such situations, speak of the reasons they had for distrusting the intentions of England on the subject of our independence; but I have lately been astonished at hearing it suggested, here, that this government has not yet absolutely abandoned the project of attempting re-colonization. It is probable that this opinion is now exaggerated; but that such a scheme did exist, until within the last fifteen or twenty years, I make no doubt. There is a remarkable expression in an article of the Edinburgh Review, that appeared shortly after the peace of 1815. I quote from memory, but the words were nearly these, and as to the idea it is accurate, the subject of the article being America : “ *We presume that the project of re-colonization is at length abandoned!*” Such a remark

would not have been made causelessly. But I have myself been present when this subject was discussed, in Paris, by men who are in the secrets of states, and I well remember the surprise I felt at hearing the possibility of re-colonization suggested. On that occasion, when I gave the failure in 1776 as a proof of the impracticability of such a project at this late day, I was significantly reminded of the hundred millions that England had subjugated in India.

One thing is certain ; we estimate our own security very differently from what it is estimated here. It is the expectation of Europe generally, and of England especially, that we shall separate ; and to this end, it is probable that the efforts of those who plot our overthrow will be directed. Little, I might almost say nothing, is known in America of the means that are employed by the privileged classes of Eu-

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rope to maintain their ascendancy. We have heard a great deal of the machinations of infidelity, and of the infamous schemes of demagogues to overturn the existing order of things, in these governments; but scarcely a whisper has been breathed against the plots and inexcusable agencies that are universally attributed to the friends of despotism and aristocracy by the friends of liberty. Little accustomed to think for ourselves, and with a corrupt and interested press, we have lent greedy ears to *ex parte* testimony; and, ready enough to oppose the principles of the Age of Reason and of the Illuminati, we have overlooked the essential circumstance that they are merely the reaction of extreme abuses, and that the root of the evil lies deeper than the disgusting excesses which have been so zealously paraded before our eyes. I can know no more of the past than what I

hear ; but the fairest-minded men of France have assured me of their deep conviction, that the machinations of their enemies were principally instrumental in bringing about the horrors of their own revolution. No one pretends that it is unnatural for those who have been ruthlessly depressed, to break out in acts of violence when suddenly released ; but they believe that agents were employed to excite these passions to fury, and that, finding it impossible to stay the torrent of revolution by resistance, the privileged here, directed their schemes to bringing it into disrepute, by inciting the people to acts that would be certain to offend humanity.

One anecdote related to me by General Lafayette, in person, I consider so remarkable that it shall be repeated ; substituting, however, initials of names that do not apply to those that were actually

mentioned, as some of the parties are still living. I select this anecdote from a hundred, because I so well know the integrity of the party from whom it is derived, that I feel confident there is no exaggeration or colouring in the account; and because it is, fortunately, in my power to prove that I had it from General Lafayette, almost in the words in which it is given to you.

We were conversing on the subject of the probable agency of the monarchs and aristocrats of Europe in bringing about the excesses of the revolution. "Count N—— was in England during the peace of Amiens," said our venerable friend, "and he dined with Lord G——, one of Mr. Pitt's cabinet. They were standing together at a window of the drawing-room, when Lord G—— pointed to a window of a house at a little distance, and said, 'That is the window of the room in which

F—— lodged, when in England.' 'F——!' exclaimed Count N——, ' what can you know, my lord, of such a man as F——?' The English minister smiled significantly, and replied, ' Why, *we sent him to France!*' "

By substituting for "Count N——" the name of a Frenchman who has been a minister under nearly every government in France for the last forty years, and whose private and public character is one of the best of that country; for that of Lord G——, a well-known English statesman; and that of F——, one of the greatest monsters to which the Reign of Terror gave birth, you will have the story almost in the words in which it was related to me by General Lafayette, who told me he had it from Count N——, himself.

Had this anecdote appeared in one of the newspaper comments of the day, I

should think less of it ; but coming as it did from a distinguished Frenchman, and he of better reputation than most of the politicians of the period, to a man like Lafayette, who is so perfectly free from the vice of attributing base motives to even his enemies, and this in a free and friendly conversation, with no apparent reason to misrepresent, I confess it has struck me as worthy of more than ordinary consideration.

When we remember how natural it is to employ the most obvious agencies in effecting our objects, one is not to be surprised that the scheme of pushing the popular feelings into extremes, should suggest itself on such an occasion ; and, as for any restraint imposed by principles, men are so apt to shift a divided responsibility from their own shoulders to those of their associates, so ready to look for justification in the end, and always so

much disposed, in politics, to consider “*une faute*” more heinous than “*un crime*,” that I have no difficulty in believing the story, on the score of any moral scruples in the parties. The avowal might cause surprise ; but it was two old soldiers talking over the different *ruses* of their late campaigns, and surprising things of the sort leak out in this way.

Mr. Huskisson was a student of medicine in Paris at the commencement of the French revolution. The French openly accuse him of having worn the *bonnet rouge*, and of having belonged to the most exaggerated of the Jacobins. They add, that he was suddenly lost sight of, and when next seen was in the employment of the British government. All this may be true however, and still no more than a natural consequence of youth and inexperience. Had Mr. Huskisson been less equivocal in his commercial ethics, and

more consistent with his own avowed principles, the circumstance would not have much weight with me, for nothing is more natural than for a young mind to be carried away by sentiments that appear to be generous ; but I hold it to be a pretty safe rule, that the man who is jesuitical on any one fact, is to be distrusted on all others. That Mr. Huskisson is self-contradicted and insincere in his Free Trade doctrines, is as obvious as any moral truth I know.

But, admitting that both these tales are idle, it would be folly for an American to shut his eyes to the confidence with which even the women, here, speak of the dismemberment of the Union. This is the point to which our enemies will be certain to direct their machinations ; and if we wish “ to calculate its value” to ourselves, we have only to regard the importance that is attached to it by our ene-

mies. You will judge of my surprise when a young girl, under twenty years, told me very coolly, in answer to some pleasantry that had passed between us on the subject of national power, "Oh, but your Union will soon be dissolved!"

Mr. Cobbett, who, though anything but authority in matters of fact, is a shrewd thinker, and is accustomed to appreciate the means and agencies of states, has just declared in his journal, that, unless we abandon the protective policy, England ought to manifest her real power, and "blow their boasted Union to the winds." Here we have a specimen of the ethics as well of the means employed, in such matters, by politicians. Unless we abandon a legitimate policy of our own, the social firebrand is to be lighted in our bosom! This savours strongly of the principles contained in the anecdote of General Lafayette. It will be said, how-

ever, that Mr. Cobbett is authority for nothing. But other journals have said, in substance, the same thing; and I think such is the tone of most political men here.

I have said that we overrate our security. A people, as much in the habit of looking to another nation for opinions as our own, cannot be otherwise than dependent, to a certain degree, on the mercy of those who give them their impulses. No one can deny that we receive from England a vast deal that is excellent and useful; and it will be the cue of those who wish to influence us to our own injury, to mix their poison so artfully with this wholesome nutriment, that the two shall be swallowed together. Coupled with the most inflated boastings about American literature in the journals, we may constantly see statements that such and such a work is republished in England, or has

gone to a second edition in this country, as the highest eulogium that can be given. Much the greater proportion of our writers still manifest a dependence on English opinion, a dread of its censure, and a desire to secure its favour, in a way that cannot easily be mistaken. God forbid that any one should indulge in the low calumnies that mark equally ignorance and vulgarity ! but it is painful to see the truckling manner in which flattery and homage are interwoven, in so many of our works, with a manifest design to secure the favour of a people who do not care to conceal their contempt. In my own case, how often have I had occasion to see the influence of this spirit, by having it tauntingly thrown into my teeth that such and such abuse has appeared in some English journal ;—perhaps such and such a puff, by way of flattery ! There is not an American writer, at this moment, who

does not lie at the mercy of the English critics, should they consider him of sufficient importance to notice ; and there are symptoms that this country begins to think seriously, if indeed it has not long thought, of influencing the reputation of our political men. That such are their own opinions of their own power is sufficiently manifest, for they openly boast of it in the newspapers. Obvious attempts are made to influence opinion even in France, a country that is singularly deaf to foreign impressions ; and, if they can excite a comment in France, they can convulse America.

In regarding this subject, the feelings and dispositions of the English nation are to be kept out of sight ; for the human impulses of bodies of men are of no account in the control of interests like these : they who move the wires are behind the scenes, and the mass here, like

the mass at home, is wrought on in a way that is perceptible only to the vigilant and the observing. But it is a humiliating fact, accompanying these circumstances, that the English see their influence, and deride us for it, even while they exercise it.

Some peculiarities of a physical nature serve to aid foreigners in perpetuating their power over the American mind. The population is so diffused, that, unless in cases which excite local interest, there is no opinion sufficiently strong to cope with that which is formed in the towns ; and these towns, particularly those of the most influence, are quite as much foreign as American. A large portion of even the presses in the seaports are directly controlled by men who were born British subjects, and it is a peculiarity about these people scarcely ever to forget their origin. There is an infatuation in America

on this subject, that one who stands aloof can hardly credit. Still, when we come to look into all the causes, it can scarcely create surprise that the writers of the nation look as much to foreign as to native approbation, that the diplomatists court their enemies instead of their friends, and that public opinion is constantly influenced by interests and rights adverse to our own.

God knows what is to be the final result! We may grow out of this weakness, as children get the better of the rickets ; or we may succumb to the disease, as children often die. There is little use, however, in treating it with an overstrained delicacy, for it is the school of sentimentalists that has aggravated the disease to its present dangerous extent ; and nothing will be so apt to cure it, besides time, as a little caustic properly applied. I very well know it is said that the war of 1812

liberated the American mind from its ancient thralldom, and for a time it did ; so did the war of the Revolution : but no sooner did things, in both instances, revert back to their ancient channels, than the habits of thought appear to have kept them company. We have gained a little, permanently, beyond a question. No one thinks now, that a British frigate has only to say, “ Boh !” to an American frigate, to cause her to strike her flag ; but this very point of manhood in the field, will prove the tendency to drop back into the old train of thinking ; for, in despite of all the experience of 1776, thousands and tens of thousands of native citizens believed we could not resist the English, when war was declared in 1812, either ashore or afloat ! I do not mean, that they believed the power of America could not resist the power of England, but that the man of America could not fight the

man of England ; for to this had the uninterrupted practice of reading the English accounts of themselves, brought the state of public opinion. As no nation has shown a better spirit in the field when actually called on to serve, does not this fact prove how completely courage is a matter of convention, and how necessary it is to guard all the habits of thought ?

There is a feature of English jealousy that strikes me as particularly odd. Every one reasons here, as if our government is always to be distrusted on account of its tendency to be driven into wars by the truculent spirit of the democracy ! I should say this notion haunts the English imagination on the subject of America, though it would be difficult to give a good reason for it. The war of 1812 probably took our enemy by surprise, but it could not have been because the people of America rushed into it with

precipitation, but because they had borne so long as to remove every apprehension of their appealing to force at all. There is a professed distrust of General Jackson on this account. They think, or affect to think, that, being a soldier, he will profit by the elements of democracy, and bring on a war of conquest, with a view to his own glory and tastes. Some do not hesitate to say, that he will then aim at a crown, like Napoleon !*

* When General Jackson was running alone, in opposition to Mr. Adams, the English, under the impressions alluded to above, and probably on account of ancient grudges, betrayed a strong disinclination to his success. Still, Mr. Adams was disliked, for he was believed to be unfriendly to England, and favourable to the system of protecting duties. Suddenly, the press of London altered its tone in reference to the former, and, from lavishing the usual scurrility, it began to speak of him in terms of respect. It is said that the English agents in America notified their government that they were quarrelling with their bread and butter, and that the change of policy took place in consequence. These little occurrences should teach every American how to appreciate praise, or censure, that comes from sources so veual. Mr. Adams probably understood the true foreign policy of the government better

than any political man who has been in power since the days of Jefferson. The protective system, the congress of Panama, though defeated in its objects by hostile influence, and the protest of the administration of Mr. Monroe, which is understood to have originated with Mr. Adams, are three of the most elevated, far-sighted, and statesman-like measures America ever undertook. The former, though run down by English influence, will quite likely be called for by the very states that now most oppose it, within the next five-and-twenty years. Nothing is more probable than that the constitution will be amended, solely with a view to this end, and that the cotton-growing states will first move in the matter. But for the redeeming act of the President, in recommending reprisals against France, the writer, a near looker-on for most of the time, should say, that the character of the nation abroad suffered much less during the administration of Mr. Adams than during that of his successor, though the diplomatic tone was not what it ought to have been under either administration. We boast a great deal of the dexterity with which the nation has got out of a difficulty, while we entirely overlook the capital fault by which it got into it. So far from the truculent spirit of democracy inducing the government to rush into wars, the craven and temporising spirit of trade, the only concentrated interest of much available power in ordinary cases, has prevented it from maintaining the true interests of the country, in a dozen distinct instances, within the last twenty years.

LETTER XXVIII.

TO RICHARD COOPER, ESQUIRE, COOPERS-TOWN, NEW YORK.

Physical Differences between the English and Americans.—Moral Differences.—Resistance to Law.—English and American Pride.—Sensibility to Comments.—Statistical Facts.—Peculiarities of America.—Its Civilization.—The American System.—English Independence.—Unsocial Habits.—English Taste.—Mrs. Butler and Mrs. Trollope.—English Intelligence.

IT would be an occupation of interest to note the changes, moral and physical, that time, climate, and different institutions have produced between the people of England and those of America.

Physically, I do not think the change as great as is usually imagined. Dress

makes a sensible difference in appearance, and I find that the Americans, who have been under the hands of the English tailors, are not easily distinguished from the English themselves. The principal points of distinction strike me to be these. We are taller, and less fleshy; more disposed to stoop; have more prominent features, and faces less full; are less ruddy, and more tanned; have much smaller hands and feet, anti-democratical as it may be; and are more slouching in gait. The exceptions, of course, are numerous; but I think these distinctions may be deemed national. The American, who has become Europeanized by dress, however, is so very different a looking animal from what he is at home, that too much stress is not to be laid on them. Then the great extent of the United States is creating certain physical differences in our own

population, that render all such comparisons liable to many qualifications.

As to stature and physical force, I see no reason to think the animal has deteriorated in America. As between England and the old Atlantic states, the difference is not striking, after one allows for the disparity in numbers, and the density of the population here, the eye always seeking exceptions ; but I incline to believe that the south-west will turn the scale to our side. I believe it to be a fact, that the aborigines of that portion of the Union were larger than those of our own section of the country.

There are obvious physical differences among the English themselves. One county is said to have an undue proportion of red heads, another to have men taller than common, this again men that are shorter, and all to show traces of their

remote origins. It is probable that some of these peculiarities have descended to ourselves, though they have become blended by the unusual admixture of the population.

Morally, we live under the influence of systems so completely the converse of each other, that it is matter of surprise so many points of resemblance still remain. The immediate tendency of the English system is, to create an extreme deference in all the subordinate classes for their superiors; while that of the American is to run into the opposite feeling. The effects of both these tendencies are certainly observable; though relatively, that of our own much less, I think, than that of England. It gives good models a rather better chance here, than they have with us.

In England, the disaffected to the government are among precisely those who

most sustain government in America ; and the disaffected in America, (if so strong a word can properly be used, as applied to natives,) are of a class whose interests it is to sustain government in England.* These facts give very different aspects to the general features of society. Walking in Regent-street, lately, I witnessed an attempt of the police to compel some

* When the writer went to Europe, it was so unusual to hear anything against the system of America, that disaffection may be said to have become extinct. On his return, however, after an absence of less than eight years, he was astonished to hear monarchical sentiments openly declared ; and he believes that it will be generally admitted by all candid observers, that their avowal is now more open and more frequent than they have been at any time within the present century. This is not the place to discuss the reasons ; but this explanation is due from the writer, on his own account, as, without it, a change that has actually taken place among others may be ascribed to himself. No one need be ashamed of having honestly altered his opinions, for good cause, and after mature examination ; but, since the publication of these letters has commenced, the writer has been openly accused of changes that, in point of fact, have occurred among other people. Another occasion may offer to examine this point.

hackney coachmen to quit their boxes, and go with them before the magistrate. A crowd of a thousand people collected immediately, and its feeling was decidedly against the ministers of the law ; so much so, indeed, as to render it doubtful whether the coachmen, whose conduct had been flagrantly criminal, would not be rescued. Now, in America, I think the feeling of such a crowd, would have been just the other way. It would have taken an interest in supporting the authorities of the country, instead of an interest in opposing them. This was not the case of a mob, you will remember, in which passion puts down reason ; but an ordinary occurrence of the exercise of the power of the police. Instances of this nature might be multiplied, to show that the mass of the two people act under the influence of feelings diametrically opposed to each other.

On the other hand, Englishmen of the higher classes are, with very few exceptions, and these exceptions are usually instances of mere party opposition, attached to their system, sensitive on the subject of its merits or defects, and ever ready to defend it when assailed. The American of the same class is accustomed to sneer at democracy, to cavil at its fruits, and to colour and exaggerate its faults. Though this latter disposition may be, to a degree, accounted for by the facts, that all merit is comparative, and most of our people have not had the opportunities to compare; and that it is natural to resist most that which most annoys, although the substitution of any other for the actual system would produce even greater discontent; still, I think, the general tendency of aristocratical institutions on the one hand, and of democratical on the other, is to produce this

broad difference in feeling as between classes.

Both the Americans and the English are charged with being offensively boastful and arrogant as nations, and too much disposed to compare themselves advantageously with their neighbours. I have visited no country in which a similar disposition does not exist; and as communities are merely aggregations of men, I fancy that the disposition of a people to take this view of their own merits, is no more than carrying out the well known principle of individual vanity. The English and ourselves, however, well may, and probably do, differ from other nations in one circumstance connected with such a failing. The mass in both nations are better instructed, and are of more account than the mass in other countries, and their sentiments form more of a public opinion than elsewhere. When the bulk

of a people are in a condition to make themselves heard, one is not to expect much refinement or delicacy in the sentiments they utter. The English do not strike me as being a vainer nation than the French, although, in the way of ordinary intercourse, I believe that both they and we are more boastful.

The English are to be particularly distinguished from the Americans in the circumstance of their being a proud people. This is a useful and even an ennobling quality when it is sustained by facts, though apt to render a people both uncomfortable and unpleasant when the glory on which they pique themselves is passed away. We are almost entirely wanting in national pride, though abundantly supplied with an irritable vanity that might rise to pride, had we greater confidence in our facts. Most intelligent Englishmen are ready enough to admit

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the obvious faults of their climate, and even of their social condition ; but it is an uncommon American that will concede anything material on such points, unless it can be made to bear on democracy. We have the sensitiveness of provincials, increased by the consciousness of having our spurs to earn, on all matters of glory and renown, and our jealousy extends even to the reputations of the cats and dogs. It is but an indifferent compliment to human nature to add, that the man who will join complacently, and I may say ignorantly, in the abuse of foreigners against the institutions of the country, and even against its people, always reserving a saving clause in favour of his own particular class, will take fire if an innuendo is hazarded against its beef, or a suggestion made that the four thousand feet of the Round Peak are not equal to

the thirteen thousand of the Jung Frau. The English are tolerably free from this weakness, and travelling is daily increasing this species of liberality, at least. I presume that the insular situation of England, and our own distance from Europe, are equally the causes of these traits; though there may be said to be a "property qualification" in the very nature of man, that disposes him to view his own things with complacency, and those of his neighbours with distrust. Bishop Heber, in one of his letters to Lord Grenville, in speaking of the highest peaks of the Himalayas, throws into a parenthesis, "which, I feel some exultation in saying, is completely within the limits of the British empire;" a sort of sentiment, of which, I dare say, neither St. Chrysostom nor Polycarp was entirely free.

On the subject of sensibility to com-

ments on their national habits and national characters, neither France nor England is by any means as philosophical or indifferent as one might suppose. As a rule, I believe all men are more easily enraged when their real faults are censured, than when their virtues are called in question ; and if the defect happen to be unavoidable, or one for which they are not fairly responsible, the resentment is two-fold that which would attend a comment on a vice. The only difference I can discover between the English and ourselves in this particular, is easily to be traced to our greater provincialism, youth, and the consciousness that we are obliged to anticipate some of our renown. I should say that the English are *thin-skinned*, and the Americans *raw*. Both resent fair, frank, and manly comments with the same bad taste, resorting to calumny,

blackguardism, and abuse; when wit and pleasantry would prove both more effective and wiser, and, perhaps, reformation wisest of all. I can only account for this peculiarity, by supposing that the institutions and political facts of the two countries have rendered vulgar-minded men of more account than is usually the case; and that their influence has created a species of public opinion which is less under the correction of taste, principles, and manners, than is the case in nations where the mass is more depressed. Of the fact itself, there can be no question.

In order to appreciate the effect of refinement on this nation, it will be necessary to recur to some of its statistical facts. England, including Wales, contains rather less than fifty-eight thousand square miles of territory; the state of New York, about forty-three thousand,

On the former surface, there is a population of something like fifteen millions ; on the latter, a population of less than two. One gives a proportion of about two hundred and sixty to the square mile, and the other a proportion of less than fifty. These premises alone would show us the immense advantage that any given portion of surface in England must possess over the same extent of surface in America, in all those arts and improvements that depend on physical force. If there were ten men of education, and refinement, and fortune, in a county of New York of one thousand square miles in extent, there ought to be more than fifty men of the same character and means in an English county of equal territory. This is supposing that the real premises offer nothing more against us than the disproportion between numbers and sur-

face ; whereas, in fact, time, wealth, and an older civilization, more than quadruple the odds. Even these do not make up the sum of the adverse elements. Though England has but fifteen millions of souls, the empire she controls has nearly ten times that population, and a very undue proportion of the results of so great a physical force centre in this small spot.

The consideration of these truths suggests several useful heads of reflection. In the first place, they show us, if not the absolute impossibility, the great improbability, that the civilization, refinement, knowledge, wealth, and tastes of even the best portions of America, can equal those of this country, and suggest the expediency of looking to other points for our sources of pride. I have said, that the two countries act under the influence of moral agencies that are almost the con-

verse of each other. The condensation of improvement and cultivation is so great here, that even the base of society is affected by it, even to deportment ; whereas, with us, these properties are so dispersed as to render it difficult for those who are lucky enough to possess them, to keep what they have got, in face of the overshadowing influence of a lower school, instead of being able to impart them to society. Our standard, in nearly all things, as it is popular, is necessarily one of mediocrity ; a highly respectable, and, circumstances considered, a singularly creditable one, but still a mediocrity ; whereas, the condition of these people has enabled them to raise a standard which, however much it may be and is wanting in the better elements of a pure taste, has immensely the advantage of our own in most of the obvious blandishments of life.

More than half of the peculiarities of América—peculiarities for which it is usual to seek a cause in the institutions, simply because they are so peculiar themselves,—are to be traced to facts like these ; or, in other words, to the disproportion between surface and numbers, the want of any other than commercial towns, and our distance from the rest of the world.

Every condition of society has its own advantages, and its own disadvantages. To claim perfection for any one in particular, would be to deny the nature of man. Their comparative merits are to be decided, only, by the comparative gross results, and it is in this sense that I contend for the superiority of our own. The utilitarian school, as it has been popularly construed, is not to my taste, either; for I believe there is great utility in the grace and elegance of life, and no one

would feel more disposed to resist a system in which these essential properties are proscribed. That we are wanting in both, I am ready to allow; but I think the reason is to be found in facts entirely independent of the institutions, and that the time will come when the civilization of America will look down that of any other section of the world, if the country can pass that state of probation during which it is and will be exposed to the assaults of secret combinations to destroy it; and during which, moreover, it is, in an especial degree, liable to be affected by inherited opinions, and opinions that have been obtained under a system that has so many of the forms, while it has so few of the principles of our own, as easily to be confounded with it, by the ignorant and the unreflecting.

We over-estimate the effects of intel-

ligence as between ourselves and the English. The mass of information, here, probably exceeds that of America, though it is less equally distributed. In *general* knowledge of a practical nature, too, I think no people can compete with our own. But there is a species of information, that is both useful and refining, in which there are few European nations that do not surpass us. I allude, in particular, to most things that serve to embellish life. In addition to this superiority, the Europeans of the better classes very obviously possess over us an important advantage, in their intimate associations with each other, by which means they insensibly imbibe a great deal of current knowledge, of which the similar classes in America are nearly ignorant; or, which, if known at all, is only known through the medium of books. In the exhibition

of this knowledge, which embraces all that belongs to what is commonly termed a knowledge of the world, the difference between the European and the American is the difference that is seen between the man who has passed all his days in good society, and the man who has got his knowledge of it from novels and plays.

In a correct estimate of their government, and in an acquaintance with its general action, the English are much our superiors, though we know most of details. This arises from the circumstances that the rights of an Englishman are little more than franchises, which require no very profound examination to be understood; while those of the American depend on principles that demand study, and which are constantly exposed to the antagonist influence of opinions that have

been formed under another system. It is true the English monarchy, as a monarchy and as it now exists, is a pure mystification ; but, the supremacy of parliament being admitted, there can arise no great difficulty on the score of interpretation. The American system, moreover, is complicated and double, and the only true Whig and Tory parties that can exist must have their origin in this circumstance. To these reasons may be added the general fact, that the educated Englishman reasons on his institutions like an Englishman only ; while his American counterpart oftener reasons on the institutions of the republic like an Englishman too, than like an American. A single fact will show you what I mean, although a hundred might be quoted. In England the government is composed, in theory, of three bases and one summit ;

in America, it is composed of one base and three summits. In one, there is supposed to be a balance in the powers of the state ; and, as this is impossible in practice, it has resulted in a consolidated authority in its action : in the other, there is but one power, that of the entire people, and the balance is in the action of their agents. A very little reflection will show that the maxims of two such systems ought to be as different as the systems themselves.

The English are to be distinguished from the Americans by greater independence of personal habits. Not only the institutions, but the physical condition of our own country has a tendency to reduce us all to the same level of usages. The steam-boats, the over-grown taverns, the speculative character of the enterprises, and the consequent disposition to do all

things in common, aid the tendency of the system in bringing about such a result. In England a man dines by himself, in a room filled with other hermits; he eats at his leisure, drinks his wine in silence, reads the paper by the hour, and, in all things, encourages his individuality and insists on his particular humours. The American is compelled to submit to a common rule; he eats when others eat, sleeps when others sleep, and he is lucky, indeed, if he can read a paper in a tavern without having a stranger looking over each shoulder.* The Englishman would stare at a proposal that should invade his habits under the pretence of a common wish, while the American would be very apt to yield tacitly, though this common

* Exaggerated as this may appear, the writer has actually been driven away, by strangers leaning over him, in this manner, no less than eleven times, at the Astor House, within the last twelvemonths.

wish should be no more than an impudent assertion of some one who had contrived to effect his own purposes, under the popular plea. The Englishman is so much attached to his independence that he instinctively resists every effort to invade it, and nothing would be more likely to arouse him than to say the mass thinks differently from himself; whereas the American ever seems ready to resign his own opinion to that which is made to seem to be the opinion of the public. I say *seems* to be, for so manifest is the power of public opinion, that one of the commonest expedients of all American managers, is to create an impression that the public thinks in a particular way, in order to bring the common mind in subjection. One often renders himself ridiculous by a foolish obstinacy, and the other is as often contemptible by a weak com-

pliance. A portion of what may be called the *community* of character and habits in America, is doubtless owing to the rustic nature of its society, for one more easily maintains his independence in a capital than in a village, but I think the chief reasons are to be found in the practice of referring everything to the common mind.

It is usual to ascribe the solitary and unsocial habits of English life to the natural dispositions of the people, but, I think, unjustly. The climate is made to bear the blame of no small portion of this peculiarity. Climate, probably, has an influence on us all, for we know that we are more elastic and more ready to be pleased in a clear bracing air, than in one that is close and *sciroccoish*; but, on the whole, I am led to think, the English owe their habits to their institutions, more than to any natural causes.

196 DESIRABLE NATIONAL CHARACTER.

I know no subject, no feeling, nothing, on which an Englishman, as a rule, so completely loses sight of all the better points of his character, on which he is so uniformly bigoted and unjust, so ready to listen to misrepresentation and caricature, and so unwilling to receive truth—on which, in short, he is so little like himself in general, as on those connected with America.

As the result of this hasty and imperfect comparison, I am led to believe, that a national character somewhere between the two, would be preferable to either, as it is actually found. This may be saying no more than that man does not exist in a condition of perfection; but were the inequalities named, pared off from both people, an ingenious critic might still find faults of sufficient magnitude to preserve the identity with the human race,

and qualities of sufficient elevation to entitle both to be considered among the greatest and best nations of modern, if not of any other, times.

In most things that pertain to taste, the English have greatly the advantage of us, though *taste* is certainly not the strong side of English character. On this point, alone, one might write a book, but a very few remarks must now satisfy you. In nothing, however, is this superiority more apparent, than in their simplicity, and, particularly, in their simplicity of language. They call a spade, a spade. I very well know, that neither men nor women, in America, who are properly educated, and who are accustomed to its really better tone, differ much, if any, from the English in this particular ; but, in this case, as in most others, in which *national* peculiarities are sought, the bet-

ter tone of America is overshadowed by its mediocrity.* Although I deem the government of this country the very quintessence of hocus pocus, having

* Mrs. Butler, in her shrewd work on America, has given many good hits at this love for the grandiose. Whenever this lady has gone out of her particular sphere, or that of her sex, her remarks are such as might have been anticipated from a young English woman, visiting America with all her political prejudices about her, and, almost as a matter of course, necessarily ignorant of the true machinery and action of governments. Even in this writer, the expectation, not to say the *longing*, for a dissolution of the Union, that has been so often mentioned in these pages, is sufficiently apparent: she, also, has fallen into the very common error of ascribing things to the institutions, such, for instance, as the *nonchalance* of the tradespeople, and the noisy, screeching, hoydenish romps of the sexes, which it suits the caprices of certain people to term society, when they ought to be referred, one to the personal independence of a country prosperous beyond example, and the other to the unsettled condition of towns, that double their population every twenty years, and their wealth in ten.

Mrs. Butler has made many other mistakes, beyond a question, for she has written under erroneous impressions at starting. Of this class are all the misconceptions connected with those usages that are thought to be tending daily towards aristocracy. Any one who knows the country

scarcely a single practice that does not violate its theory, I believe that there is more honesty of public sentiment in England than in America. The defect at

well, knows that in all the ordinary appliances of this nature, America has been gradually receding from such forms for the last forty years. Thus footmen, liveries, hatchments, coats of arms, &c. &c. are all much less common now, than at the commencement of the century. Mrs. Butler has mistaken the twilight for the dawn ; the shadows of the past, for those of coming events. This is a common misapprehension of the English, and it arises from a disposition to see things in their own way.

The treatment that this lady has received cannot be too loudly condemned. She has been derided, caricatured, almost, if not positively, slandered, because she has presumed to speak the truth about us ! Mrs. Trollope has met with similar denunciations, though with a greater show of reason, for Mrs. Trollope has calumniated her own sex in America. Besides, one sees in the book of Mrs. Trollope a malignant feeling, and calculations of profit ; while the work of Mrs. Butler is as honest as it is fearless. The latter has designated persons too plainly, perhaps, coupled with unpleasant remarks ; but all these faults may be overlooked, as the whims of a very young female.

In one thing Mrs. Butler is singularly mistaken. She says that neither England, nor France, manifests any sensibility on the subject of the comments of travellers ! The

home, I ascribe, in common with the majority of our national failings, to the greater activity, and greater *unresisted* force of ignorance and cupidity, there, than here. High qualities are nowhere collected in a sufficient phalanx to present a front to the enemy, in America.

The besetting, the degrading vice of America, is the moral cowardice by which men are led to truckle to what is called public opinion; though this opinion is as inconstant as the winds—though, in all

French do not, ordinarily, understand the comments of the English, or the English those of the French. Neither nation reads nor knows anything about the comments of the Americans at all. Nothing is easier than to manifest indifference to things of which we are totally ignorant. As respects the English, however, one has only to name Pillet, d'Haussez, and Puckler-Muskau, in order to show how much abuse and calumny they can heap on those whose opinions displease them. The stories circulated in English society, concerning the latter, by way of retaliation for his book, were quite on a level with the Trollopeana of America. Both are a disgrace to civilisation.

cases that enlist the feelings of factions, there are *two*, and sometimes twenty, each differing from all the others, and though, nine times in ten, these opinions are mere engines set in motion by the most corrupt and the least respectable portion of the community, for unworthy purposes. The English are a more respectable and constant nation than the Americans, as relates to this peculiarity; probably, because the condensed masses of intelligence and character enable the superior portion of the community to produce a greater impression on the inferior, by their collective force. In standing prejudices, they strike me as being worse than ourselves; but in passing impressions, greatly our superiors.

For the last I have endeavoured to account, and I think the first may be ascribed to a system that is sustained by

errors that it is not the interest of the more enlightened to remove, but which, instead of weakening in the ignorant, they rather encourage in themselves.

LETTER XXIX.

TO CAPTAIN B. COOPER, U. S. NAVY.

Alien Office.—Taking a Passage.—Struggles for a Subsistence.—Our Embarkation.—Approach to Holland.—Dutch Wagons.—Farewell to England.

HAVING a long-standing engagement to be in Amsterdam early in June, we have been compelled to quit London, before the termination of the season. I could have wished to remain longer, but the force of things has moved heavier bodies.

Quitting England is, by no means, as easy a matter for a foreigner, as quitting almost any other European state. I was obliged to go first to the alien office, which is near Westminster Hall, and then proceed to the custom-house, a distance of several miles, in order to get

the required permission. If all these forms are necessary, (and I shall not take it on myself to say they are not,) it would save trouble could everything be done in the same office, or, at least, in the same building.

My labours in obtaining the permit to embark, and in taking a passage, have taught me a secret in relation to the advantage we possess over the English in sailing ships. The excess of men causes all occupations to be crowded, and as each *employé* must have a livelihood out of his employment, he becomes a charge on the business. If an Englishman could live on a bit of garlic and a few chesnuts, this would not be of so much moment; but he is a beef-eating and a beer-drinking animal, and likes to be neat in his attire, and the trade is compelled to pay a pretty good price for his support. Thus, when I went on board the steamboat to take the

necessary passage, I was compelled to return to the shore, and walk, at least, half a mile to an office to effect my purpose. The person to whom I was referred received me civilly, but after making his bow, he put his hands in his pockets, and ordered two or three clerks to receive my money, enter my name, and do the other necessary things. In America the captain would do all this himself, and would find no time to put his hands in his breeches pockets.

You can form no notion of the intrigues and frauds that are practised, in these old countries, in the struggles for a subsistence. Few people of any condition have much direct communication with their tradesmen, and the buying, as a matter of course, falls into the hands of servants. A certain per centum is given the buyer, which the seller adds to the price. This is another reason why

the servant is a personage of more importance in Europe than with us, for his master's custom usually depends on *his* patronage. A case of this sort has occurred under my own immediate observation. The proprietor of one of the most celebrated vineyards of France, certain that a vast deal of spurious wine was sold under the name of his vintages, determined to make an effort to bring the pure liquor into proper notice; a difficult achievement, by the way, as the palate once set to even a vicious taste, is as little likely to relish perfection as anything else. My acquaintance determined to get his wine introduced to the table of the king at once, as a certain means of making it known. I dare say, now, you will think he had nothing to do, but to request some purveyor to consent to let the liquor be put before his majesty, and to await the issue. So far from taking

this simple course, however, he was advised to make interest with a lady of rank, in order to induce her to persuade a connexion of her own, who was one of the most distinguished men of the age, and had great favour with the king, to present the latter with a case of the wine, and this, too, in a way that might insure its reaching the royal mouth. I cannot say whether the experiment failed or succeeded, but I believe it failed, and most probably through the intrigues of those interested.

In America we have not yet reached this pass, although a glorious beginning has commenced in the commercial towns, which, in their way, are probably as corrupt as any in the world. I have seen abundant proof of a disposition in the trading part of our community abroad, to combine and conspire to attain their ends, without regard to truth, principles, or justice; and I presume we are to go the

way of all flesh in this, as in other respects.

I have not mentioned the subject, because I believe England more obnoxious to this charge of management than other European countries, for probably there is less of it here than elsewhere; certainly much less than in France; but it naturally suggested itself when I came to speak of the number of subordinates that are employed in all matters of business.

Our little preparations were soon made, and on the appointed day we went on board the vessel, which was lying off the custom-house. As we all stood on deck, just as the boat was about to proceed, the master came round to ask the foreigners for their permits to quit the country. " You have no need of one," he observed to me in passing. " I have one, notwithstanding." The man stared, and asked

an explanation with his eyes. I told him I was a foreigner—an American. "I have been in America," he said, "but we hardly look on your countrymen as foreigners." There was more of the feeling which prevails in America towards England in these words and in this man's manner, than I had ever before witnessed in England. He proved to be a mild, decent man, and well disposed to introduce some of our improvements into his boat.

We had a party of cockneys on board, who went as far as Gravesend for the fun of the thing. Great hilarity prevailed under the excitement of the usual condiments of bread, cheese and porter, and we were not sorry to be quit of them.

The weather was fine, and the North Sea as smooth as a dish. The whole night were we paddling through it, and the next morning I looked out, in vain,

for any signs of land. Our boat was a solid, good vessel, but slow of foot. The construction necessary to weathering a heavy sea, may cause these boats to make less way than our own steamers; though those which go round Point Judith and through the Sound have also need of some of the same qualities. As between them, I think the American boats usually go three feet to the English's two.

At length a low spit of sand hove in sight ahead, with here and there a tree or a church tower, that appeared to rise out of the water. This was Holland, a country that, in the language of seamen, may be said to be a wash. As we drew in nearer with the land, the villages and towers were actually made as one makes the upper sails of a ship before the hull. When fairly between the islands, by going up a few rattlins in the rigging, I got a glimpse of meadows that lay beneath

the level of tide, from whose inroads they were protected by embankments. The whole country reminded me of a ship with its dead lights in.

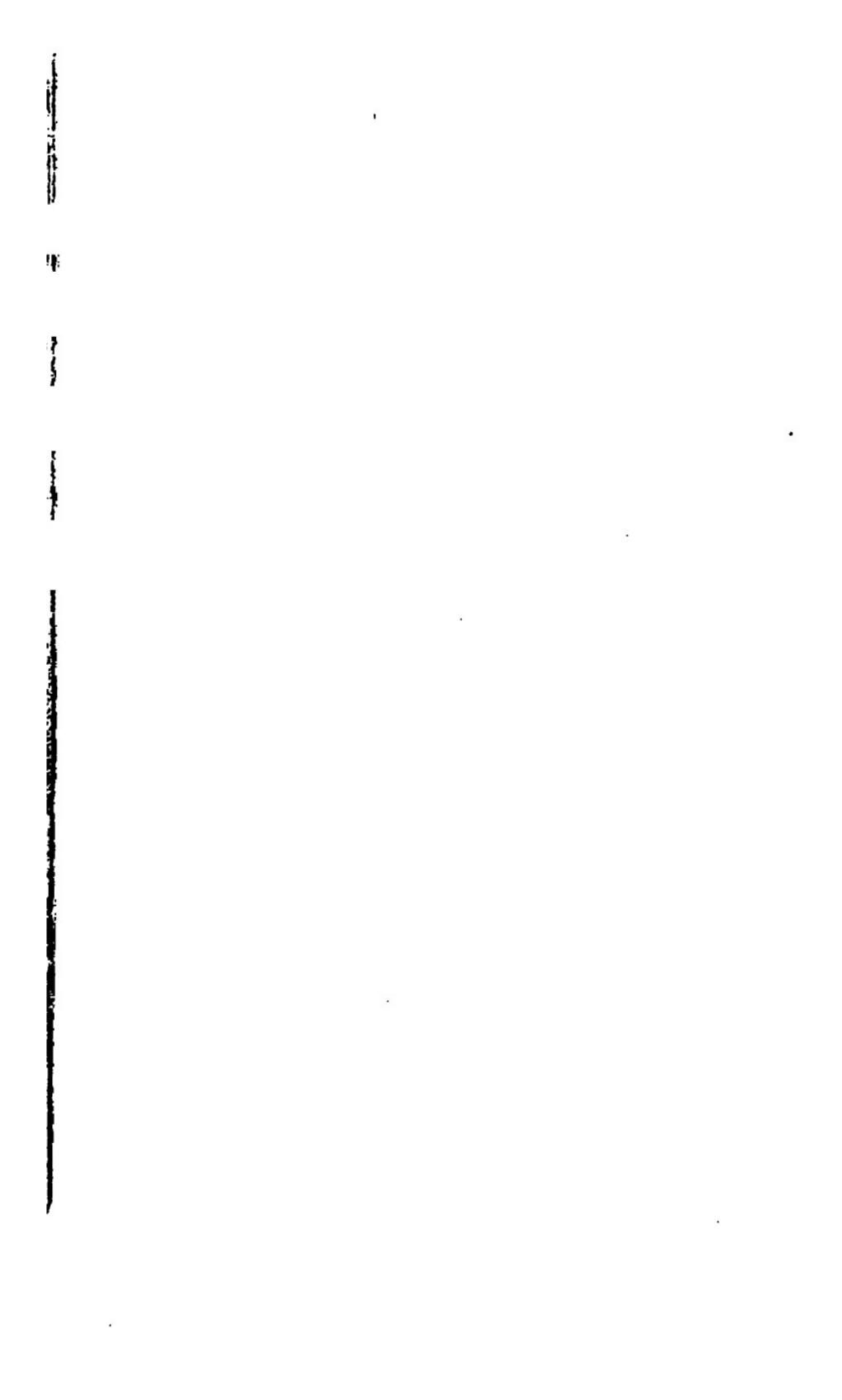
I saw a wagon rattling along a causeway, and it was a *fac simile* of the wagons that go under the name of Dutch wagons in New-York, even to the curvature of the side boards. The only difference I could perceive was in the fact that this had no tongue ! The country is so level, that holding back is unnecessary, and a short crooked tiller, that is worked by the foot of the teamster, answers the purpose of guiding the vehicle. This was Dutch economy, with a vengeance ; for the difference in cost could not exceed a guilder, and the difference in security, time, and comfort, must be worth twenty. You will easily understand, that when it becomes necessary to stop one of these crafts, sail must be shortened in season,

or the momentum would send the whole on the heels of the horses.

Presently, we got a sight of the steeples of Rotterdam, which were well relieved by trees. The verdure was oppressive, for the landscape resembled one seen through a bit of green glass. The boat was soon alongside of the Boom Key, and we were all marched off in a body to have our trunks examined. Mine were merely opened and closed again. The passport was glanced at, and we were dismissed to a hotel. Before we entered the latter, I had time to look about me, and to see a hundred things that recalled Albany and New York as they appeared in their palmy Dutch condition.

Here, then, we take our leave of England for a time ;—England, a country that I could fain like, but whose prejudices and national antipathies throw a chill

over all my affections ; a country that unquestionably stands at the head of civilisation in a thousand things, but which singularly exemplifies a truth that we all acknowledge,—how much easier it is to possess great and useful, and even noble qualities, than it is to display those that are attractive and winning ;—a country that all respect, but few love.



A P P E N D I X.



A

LETTER

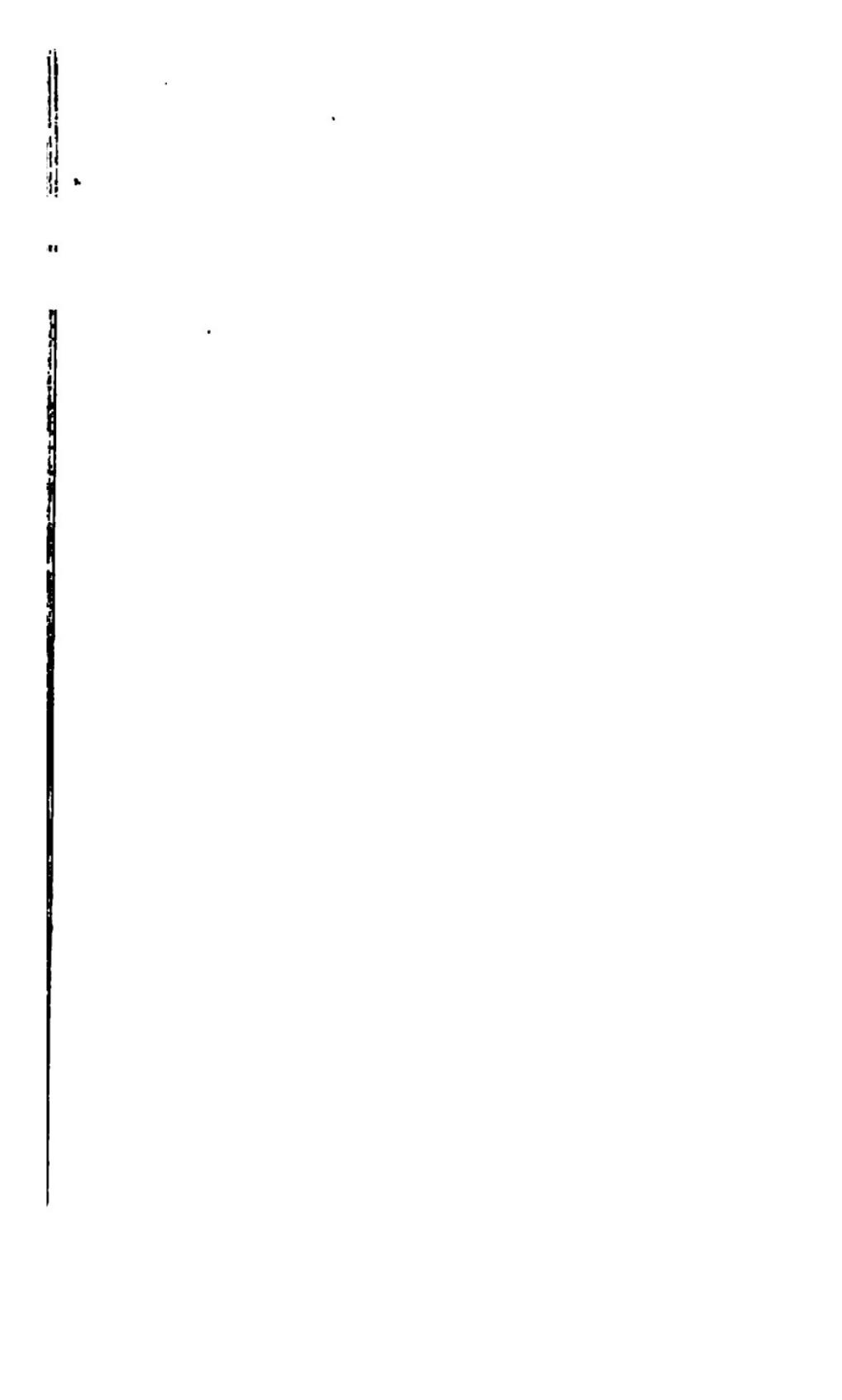
TO

HIS COUNTRYMEN.

BY J. FENIMORE COOPER.

VOL. III.

L



TO THE PUBLIC.

THE private citizen who comes before the world with matter relating to himself, is bound to show a better reason for the measure than the voluntary impulses of self-love. In my own case, it might, perhaps, appear a sufficient excuse for the step now taken, that I am acting chiefly on the defensive; that the editors of several of the public journals have greatly exceeded their legitimate functions, by animadverting on my motives and private affairs; and that assertions, opinions, and acts, have been openly attributed to me, that I have never uttered, entertained, or done. When an individual is thus dragged into notice, the right of self-vindication would seem to depend on a principle of natural justice; and yet, if I know the springs of my own conduct, I am less influenced by any personal considerations in what I am now doing, than by a wish to check a practice that has already existed too long

among us; which appears to me to be on the increase; and which, while it is degrading to the character, if persisted in, may become dangerous to the institutions of this country.

The practice of quoting the opinions of foreign nations, by way of helping to make up its own estimate of the degree of merit that belongs to its public men, is, I believe, a custom peculiar to America. That our colonial origin, and provincial habits, should have given rise to such a usage, is sufficiently natural; that journals which have a poverty of original matter, should have recourse to that which can be obtained, not only gratuitously, but by an extraordinary convention, without loss of reputation, and without even the necessity of a translation, need be no mystery; but the readiness with which the practice can be accounted for, will not, I think, prove its justification, if it can be shown that it is destructive of those sentiments of self-respect, and of that manliness and independence of thought, that are necessary to render a people great, or a nation respectable. Questions have now arisen between a portion of the press and myself, which give me more authority to speak in the matter than might belong to one whose name had not been so freely used; and it is my intention, while I endeavour

to do myself justice, to make an effort to arrest the custom to which there is allusion, and which, should it continue to prevail, must render every American more or less subject to the views of those who are hostile to the prosperity, the character, and the power of his native land.

I am fully aware that every man must prepare himself to meet the narrowest constructions on his motives, when he assumes an office like this I have here undertaken ; but I shall not complain, provided the opinion of the public receive a healthful impulse ; while, at the same time, I shall not neglect the proper means to support my argument, by showing, as far as circumstances will permit, that I come to the discussion with clean hands. These constructions might have been obviated by having recourse to an anonymous publication, or by engaging some friendly pen to speak for me ; but I have preferred the simpler, and, as I think, more manly course, of appearing in my own behalf.

At no period of my life have I had any connexion with any review, notice, or *critique* of any sort that has appeared for or against me as a writer. With a single, and a very immaterial exception, I do not know to this hour, who are the authors of any favourable notice, biogra-

phy, or other commentary, that has appeared on myself, or on anything I have published; and in the case of the exception, I was made acquainted with the name of the writer after the notice was written. As respects Europe, so far from having used any undue means to procure reviews, criticisms, or puffs, I am ignorant of the names of the writers of everything of this sort that has appeared which has been in my favour; have probably not even read a dozen of these notices, with the exception of such as were to be found in the daily prints, since I have been absent; have refused numerous applications from the editors of periodicals, to send them critiques and copies of the books I had written; and, whenever it could be done, without obvious impropriety, have uniformly declined making the acquaintance of those who were known to be connected with what are called critical publications. In several instances, the very reviews which have made direct applications to me for favourable notices, have turned against me when it was understood that the request would not be complied with.* In short, I affirm that every

* I am just informed by a friend, that he was lately applied to, by the editor of a literary journal in this city, to write a favourable notice of "The Headsman;" that he de-

report or asseveration that any review has been written in Europe, or anywhere else, by my connivance, or even with my knowledge, to produce an impression on the public mind at home, or with any other view, is founded in error or in malice. For a short time, I was a voluntary contributor of a periodical that was edited by an old messmate, (Colonel Gardner, the present Deputy Postmaster-General,) and I think he will remember the fact, that, when he declared his intention to obtain a favourable notice of "The Pioneers," I objected to it, on the ground of its being painful to me to see *critiques* of this kind in a publication with which I was connected, and that my objection prevailed.

I have been repeatedly and coarsely accused of writing for money, and exaggerated accounts of my receipts have been paraded before the public, with views that it is not easy to mistake. That I have taken the just compensation of my labours, like other men, is true; nor do I see that he who passes a year in the preparation of a work, is not just as much entitled to the fruits of his industry, as he who throws off his crude opinions to-day, with the strong clin'd; and that an unfavourable one soon after appeared in the same publication!

probability that on the morrow circumstances will compel him to admit that he was mistaken. Of this accusation it is not my intention to say much, for I feel it is conceding a sacred private right to say anything ; but as it has been frequently pressed into notice by my enemies, I will add, that I never asked nor received a dollar for anything I have written, except for the tales and the letters on America ; that I have always refused to sacrifice a principle to gain, though often urgently entreated to respect the prejudices of foreign nations, with this very view ; and that all the reports of the sums I have been soliciting and obtaining in France, Germany, and other countries, are either wholly untrue, or extravagant and absurd exaggerations.

I have been accused of undue meddling with the affairs of other nations. On this head it will be necessary to answer more at length, as the accusation takes two forms ; one which charges me with entering impertinently into a controversy with the French government, and the other resting on the political tendency of some of the tales.

As respects the first, I shall say but little here, for I hope to be able to give the history

of that controversy in a form less perishable than this letter.

In 1828, after a residence of two years in Europe, and when there had been sufficient opportunity to observe the disfavour with which the American character is viewed by nearly all classes of Europeans, I published a work on this country, whose object was to repel some of the hostile opinions of the other hemisphere, and to turn the tables on those who, at that time, most derided and calumniated us. This work was necessarily statistical in some of its features. In 1831, or about a year after the late revolution in France, there appeared at Paris, in a publication called *La Revue Britannique*, (the British Review, and this in France, be it remembered !) an article on the United States, which affected to prove that the cost of government in this country was greater than it was in France, or indeed in nearly every other country ; and that a republic, in the nature of things, must be a more expensive form of government than a monarchy. This article, as has been stated, appeared in a review with a foreign title, at a moment when the French government professed great liberality, and just after the King of the French (taking the papers

for authority) had spoken of the government of the United States as “the model government.” There was no visible reason for believing that the French ministry had any connexion with the review, and, although the fact might be and was suspected, the public had a perfect right, under all the laws of courtesy and usage, to assume exactly the contrary. In short, this dissertation of the *Revue Britannique* appeared, like any other similar dissertation, to be purely editorial, and it was clearly within the usual privileges of an author, whose positions it denied, as it denied those advanced in the work of mine just mentioned, to justify what he had already said. In addition to this peculiar privilege, I had that, in common with every citizen of the country whose facts were audaciously mutilated and perverted, of setting the world right in the affair, if I saw proper. Such a course was not forbidden by either the laws of France, any apparent connexion between the review and the government, or the “reserve usually imposed on foreigners,” I could cite fifty cases in which the natives of countries attacked have practised this right, from Baretti down to a countryman of our own, who has just exercised it in England. I did not exercise it. The article was pointed out to

me; I was told that it was injuring the cause of free institutions; that it was depriving America of nearly the only merit Europe had hitherto conceded to her; and that I might do well to answer it. After a time, General Lafayette called my attention to the same subject, and, without at all adverting to any personal interest he had in its investigation, pressed me to reply. I respectfully, but firmly declined. I had seen so much of the ignorance of Europe in relation to ourselves, understood so thoroughly the design and bad faith on which it was bottomed, and so well knew the hopelessness of correcting the evil, (for it is a great evil, so far as the feelings, character, and interests of every American are concerned,) that I felt no disposition to undertake the task. In addition to these general motives, I had the particular one of private interest. The vindication of the country already published, had occasioned a heavy pecuniary loss; it had even lost me the favour of a large party at home. I had many demands on my limited means, and was unable to make further sacrifices of this nature, to any abstract notions of patriotism or of truth. It was some months after the appearance of the review, that I was told the principal object of the article in question. It was to

injure General Lafayette. He had been stating, for forty years, that the American government was the cheapest known ; and should the mis-statements and sophistry of the *Revue Britannique* go uncontradicted, he would stand convicted before the French people of gross ignorance or of wilful fraud—or, to quote the language that was subsequently used by the “*Moniteur*,” of an “illusion or a lie.” This fact presented the affair in an entirely new aspect. I determined to furnish the answer that was requested. Whatever may be the opinion of my countrymen on this point, it appeared to me that a man who stood in the relation which General Lafayette occupied in respect to every American, ought not to be left to say that, when pressed upon hardest by his enemies, he had applied to a citizen of the country he had so faithfully served, and that, under the circumstances I have named, he had been denied what is due to even a criminal—the benefit of the truth. The “American” has lately insinuated that I am a “professed patriot.” As I have never solicited nor received the usual rewards of professions of this nature, to me it seems that my conduct might have been referred to a simple and creditable sentiment of gratitude. Had I not been placed on the de-

fensive, (so placed, I make no doubt, by designing men, who have felt my course to be a reproach to their own,) the world would never have been troubled with these details. The letter which I wrote on the matter in dispute was given to General Lafayette to secure my own self-approbation, and not to be made a merit of before the American people, of whom I never have, and do not now, ask more than a very negative justice. It was translated through the instrumentality of General Lafayette, and, in this manner, it came before the French nation. I say it with regret, but I say it with a deep conviction of its truth, that I believe this to be the only country in the world in which a citizen would be placed on trial, for having refuted gross and unquestionable mis-statements of the fair action of its own system, without any reference to the peculiar character that was given to this controversy by the appeal and situation of General Lafayette.

My letter, and one of General Bernard which accompanied it, produced replies, containing fresh mis-statements, mingled with great scurrility on the character, habits, and pursuits of the people of the United States. It was now a duty that I owed to myself, to the truth, and to all concerned, to answer. I did

so in a short series of letters that was published in the "National." Throughout the whole discussion, care was had, on my part, to abstain from touching on the cost of government in France, though the comparison would have been perfectly justifiable, when the manner in which it was provoked is brought into account. A few of my adversaries' contradictions were ridiculed, but, with a slight exception of this sort, all I said had a strict reference to ourselves.

The dates of this controversy have some connexion with that which is to follow. My first letter bears date Nov. 25th, 1831, and the last, May 3rd, 1832. The controversy on my part, however, would have ended in the commencement of March, but for a circumstance it may be well to name. After the appearance of my original letter, M. François Delassert, the vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies, published a letter from Mr. Leavitt Harris, of New-Jersey, who took grounds the very reverse of my own, who denied most of my facts, and who wrote virtually on the side of the *Revue Britannique*. To this letter I replied on the 3rd of May, as stated. That I did not prolong the discussion unnecessarily, will, I think, be admitted, when the reader remembers,

that Mr. Harris is the gentleman who has since been appointed to fill the office of Chargé d'affaires at the court of France.

Having briefly stated an outline of the facts, in reference to the controversy on the cost of government, I proceed to the political tendency of the book that appeared about the same time, and to the circumstances accompanying its publication, so far as they have any connexion with France.

The work in question is called the “Bravo.” Its outline was imagined during a short residence at Venice, several months previously to the occurrence of the late French revolution. I had had abundant occasion to observe that the great political contest of the age was not, as is usually pretended, between the two antagonist principles of monarchy and democracy, but, in reality, between those who, under the shallow pretence of limiting power to the *élite* of society, were contending for exclusive advantages at the expense of the mass of their fellow creatures. The monarchical principle, except as it is fraudulently maintained as a cover to the designs of the aristocrats, its greatest enemies, is virtually extinct in Christendom —having been supplanted by the combinations of those who affect to uphold it with a view to

their own protection. Nicholas may still send a prince to the mines, but even Nicholas keeps not only his crown, but his head, at the pleasure of the body of his aristocracy. This result is inevitable in an age when the nobles, no longer shut up in their holds and occupied in warring against each other, meet amicably together, and bring the weight of their united intelligence and common interests to bear upon the authority of the despot. The exceptions to such consequences arise only from brilliant and long-continued military successes, great ignorance in the nobles themselves, or when the democratical principle has attained the ascendancy. With these views of what was enacting around me in Europe, and with the painful conviction that many of my own countrymen were influenced by the fallacy that nations could be governed by an irresponsible minority, without involving a train of nearly intolerable abuses, I determined to attempt a series of tales, in which American opinion should be brought to bear on European facts. With this design the "Bravo" was written, Venice being its scene, and her polity its subject.

I had it in view to exhibit the action of a narrow and exclusive system, by a simple and natural exposure of its influence on the familiar

interests of life. The object was not to be attained by an essay, or a commentary, but by one of those popular pictures which find their way into every library, and which, whilst they have attractions for the feeblest intellects, are not often rejected by the strongest. The nature of the work limited the writer as to time and place, both of which, with their proper accessories, were to be so far respected as to preserve a verisimilitude to received facts, in order that the illusion of the tale should not be destroyed. The moral was to be inferred from the events, and it was to be enforced by the common sympathies of our nature. With these means, and under these limitations, then, the object was to lay bare the wrongs that are endured by the weak, when power is the exclusive property of the strong ; the tendency of all exclusion to heartlessness ; the irresponsible and ruthless movement of an aristocracy ; the manner in which the selfish and wicked profit by its facilities, and in which even the good become the passive instruments of its soulless power. In short, I had undertaken to give the reader some idea of the action of a government, which, to use the language of the book itself, had neither “the high personal responsibility that sometimes tempers despotism by the

qualities of the chief, nor the human impulses of a popular rule."

In effecting such an object, and with the materials named, the government of Venice, strictly speaking, became the hero of the tale Still it was necessary to have human agents. The required number were imagined, care being had to respect the customs and peculiarities of the age, and of the particular locality of the subject. Little need be said of the mere machinery of such a plan, as the offence, if offence there be, must exist in the main design. One of those ruthless state maxims which have been exposed by Comte Daru, in his history of Venice, furnished the leading idea of the minor plot, or the narrative. According to this maxim, the state was directed to use any fit subject, by playing on his natural affections, and by causing him to act as a spy, assassin, or other desperate agent of the government, under a promise of extending favours to some near relative who might happen to be within the grasp of the law. As the main object of the work was to show the manner in which institutions that are professedly created to prevent violence and wrongs, become themselves, when perverted from their legitimate destination, the fearful instruments of injustice, a bet-

ter illustration could not have been wished than was furnished by the application of this rule. A pious son assumes the character of a Bravo, in the hope of obtaining the liberation of a father who had been falsely accused ; and whilst the former is blasting his own character and hopes, under the delusion, and the latter is permitted to waste away his life in prison, forgotten, or only remembered as a means of working on the sensibilities of his child, the state itself, through agents whose feelings have become blunted by practice, is seen forgetful of its solemn duties, intent alone on perpetuating its schemes of self-protection. This idea was enlarged upon in different ways. An honest fisherman is represented as struggling for the release of a grandson, who had been impressed for the galleys, while the dissolute descendant of one of the inquisitors works his evil under favour of his rank. A noble, who claims an inheritance ; an heiress ; watermen ; females of low condition, and servants, are shown as contributing in various ways to the policy of the soulless state. On every side there exists corruption and a ruthless action. That some of the faces of this picture were peculiar to the Venetian polity, and to an age different from our own, is true : this much was necessary to

the illusion of the tale; but it was believed that there remained enough of that which is eternal, to supply the moral.

Such was the “Bravo,” in intention at least. I confess I see nothing in its design of which an American need be ashamed. I had not been cooped up in a ward of New York, regarding things only on one side, and working myself into a fever on the subject of the imminent danger that impended over this great republic, by the machinations of a few “working-men,” dreaming of Agrarian laws, and meditating on the neglected excellencies of my own character and acquirements on the one hand, and on the unmerited promotion of some neighbour, who spelt constitution with a *k*, on the other; but it had been my employment for years to visit nations, and to endeavour to glean some general inferences from the comparisons that naturally suggested themselves. I knew that there existed at home a large party of *doctrinaires*, composed of men of very fair intentions, but of very limited means of observation, who fancied excellencies under other systems, much as the ultra-liberals of Europe fancy perfection under our own; and, while I knew what I was doing was no more than one nail driven into an edifice that required a million, I thought it

might be well enough to show the world that there was a writer among ourselves of some vogue in Europe, who believed that the American system was founded on just and durable principles. The book was thoroughly American in all that belonged to it. The most grateful compliment I have ever received was paid to me, unwittingly enough I believe, by a hostile English review, in reference to this very work. It said, in substance, that while Byron had seen in Venice her palaces, her renown, and "England's glory" (!) the author of the *Bravo* had seen only her populace and her prisons. I take it this is just the difference that would be found in such a case between a right-thinking and a wrong-thinking man. Whether Lord Byron merited such a reproof or not, I do not pretend to know; but I was grateful for the compliment.

I believe no sane man will deny the right of an American to produce such a work as the "*Bravo*," considered purely in reference to its plan. But some who will admit this, may be disposed to say that a book of such a nature should not have been published in France at that particular moment. The distinction taken by these thin-skinned moralists (most of whom are liberal enough to all who write in honour

of exclusion*) rests on a subterfuge. Had the “Bravo” been written and published among the mountains of Otsego, it would have been translated and republished at Paris without any agency of mine. All that I had written, previously to arriving in Europe, was reprinted in this way; and the activity of the press is much too great at present to leave any doubt on this head. I wrote in my own language; and had I caused an English edition to be printed at Paris, it would have been a sealed book to the French. There is no doubt that the tendency of the “Bravo” is directly opposed to the *intentions* of the French Government party, and it has so been treated by writers of that country both for and against; but it is by no means so clear that it is opposed to their *professions*. A stranger is bound to

* Compare the language of these admirers of exclusive privileges as respects me, and as respects Mr. G. Morris. The latter was an accredited agent of the United States, and was recalled at the complaint of the French Government of that day, because he was believed to favour aristocracy! The London “Times,” of Sept. 13, 1833, in speaking of the representatives of the United States in Europe, says—“They are very generally imbued with aristocratical sentiments,—if possible, more marked than those of the representatives of the European monarchies with whom they associate.” Is this the character an American agent ought to earn abroad?

respect the laws and institutions of the country in which he may happen to be, but I do not know that he is obliged to dive into the secret and fraudulent intentions of its rulers. Let this be as it may, I stand acquitted of blame on any and all of these subtleties, for I did not cause the "Bravo" to be published in France at all. Even the sheets for the translation were obtained from another country (I believe the work was actually translated in England), and the reprints in English which did appear were surreptitious editions, that an author without a copyright could not prevent. I did not know of their existence until they had been before the world several weeks.

Such is the history of the intention and of the publication of the "Bravo," so far as either is connected with the matter at issue. I do not know that its author had any great reason to be dissatisfied with its reception. The great mass of readers viewed it simply as a picturesque sketch of scenes and incidents; and in this respect it seems to have had sufficient interest to become tolerably popular. The publisher of the translation told me, shortly after it appeared, that it fared better than most of the works from the same pen. There were a few, however, who were accustomed to separate

principles from facts. Some of these closer readers detected the intention of the book, and they were not slow in pointing it out. "Figaro," without exception the wittiest journal in France, and one that was especially devoted to attacks on the *juste milieu*, contrary to its usual course, gave an especial article to the book, laying considerable stress on its political tendency. Praised from "Figaro" on such a topic almost inevitably drew censure from the other party, and from this time it became a fashion with a set to undervalue the work.

In dwelling on the reception of this book, I hope the reader will overlook the weakness of an author. There were several pictures from its scenes at the French and English exhibitions of 1833 ; an opera has been written from it for the Académie de Musique* at Paris ; another for the Italian opera at the same place ; and when in London, Mr. Kenny told me he was writing an English opera on the same subject for Drury Lane. I believe there have also been several melo-dramas in different languages. The critical notices of the work, as I am told, —for my own knowledge on this head is very

* I do not know that this opera was accepted ; I think it probable it was, for obvious reasons, refused. I was told, however, that the one for the Italian Opera had been received.

limited,— have been rather favourable than otherwise.

I shall beg the reader to have patience while I furnish some evidence of the quality of the mental aliment that is daily served out to the American public, by the practice of copying the opinions of foreigners. I shall be obliged to speak continually of myself, for the reasons already given ; but I trust the apparent egotism will be pardoned, when it is remembered that in no other way could I command the same materials, or furnish evidence so little liable to error. The object is to let my countrymen into some of the secrets of the critical fraternity, at the same time that I show the danger of doing injustice by circulating calumnies of unknown origin, and lay bare the united ignorance and impudence of those abroad who affect to speak of us, as the greater experience of the Old World would appear to entitle the sages of the East to treat the tyros of the West. In order to effect such a purpose, I shall cull, from a large mass of information that I possess, a set of facts that may change the evidence in a way to meet most of the varieties of the abuse to which, from the practice named, we render ourselves liable.

It was in the autumn of 1830 that I first saw,

in an American journal, a short article on myself, extracted from an English publication, which was particularly intended to wound my feelings and those of my family, and which was calculated to give the world a very erroneous opinion of at least one trait in my private character.

I had become the object of particular resentment to a certain portion of the English, from the circumstance of having written a statement of the causes of the hostility and prejudices which so generally exist in their country against our own. This resentment was greatly increased by the fact that the book I had written was translated into different languages, and circulated throughout Europe. Hitherto they had told their own story; but an American had now joined issue with them, and, for a novelty, had obtained a hearing at the bar of Europe. I was vituperated in England,—a country whose reputation for this species of warfare is pretty well established,—as a matter of course; for this I was prepared, having well weighed the matter beforehand; but here I had the pain of seeing an American journal stooping to become the instrument of English ribaldry against an absent countryman, who neither merited this particular act of injustice, nor any

personal attack from the press of his own people. It may be well to examine the authority of this injurious tale, in order that the compliance of our own journalist may stand out in proper relief.

I regret that a long search has not enabled me to find the paragraph in question.* It had been quoted into the —— from an English journal, which had found it in a posthumous publication of the late Mr. William Hazlitt, a writer whose reputation may teach caution to those who are addicted to indiscriminate de-

* The writer has since succeeded in finding the paragraph from the pen of Mr. Hazlitt :

“ There are two things I admire in Sir Walter—his capacity and his simplicity, which indeed I am apt to think are much the same. The more ideas a man has of other things, the less he is taken up with the idea of himself. Every one gives the same account of the author of *Waverley* in this respect. When he was in Paris, and went to Galignani’s, he sat down in an outer room to look at some book he wanted to see: none of the clerks had the least suspicion who it was. When it was found out, the place was in a commotion. Cooper, the American, was in Paris at the same time: his looks and manners seemed to announce a much greater man. He strutted through the streets with a very consequential air; and in company held up his head, screwed up his features, and placed himself on a sort of pedestal to be observed and admired, as if he never relaxed in the assumption, nor wished it to be forgotten by others, that he was the American Walter Scott.”

ference for foreigners. But although it is not in my power to quote its words, I retain a very distinct recollection of its substance. It says that while Sir Walter Scott came to the reading rooms of the Messrs. Galignani, sitting down modestly in the outer room, I was in the habit of running about the streets of Paris (! !) and, furthermore, that in society I was in the practice of getting into corners and making faces, as if I would invite the company to admire the American Walter Scott. Puerile as all this may appear in substance, Mr. William Hazlitt did not hesitate to write it, his successors to print it, and the American journal in question to utter it to this country. It is evident on its face, that the writer himself had no very distinct idea of the nature of my sins, so far as they were connected with the shop of the Messrs. Galignani and the streets. Mr. Cooper running about the streets of Paris, and Sir Walter Scott taking his seat in the outer room at Galignani's, present no very striking images of criminality.

It is sufficiently plain that Mr. Hazlitt, who was an utter stranger to me, had been charged with stories to my prejudice; and, probably feeling well disposed as an Englishman to represent the hardihood of an American, who had

presumed to tell the world a few naked truths on the points at issue between the countries, he gave vent to his animosity without making a particular draft on his logic. I could not desire a better proof of what I now wish to impress on my countrymen, than is to be found in this very paragraph. Here is a European writer of some eminence permitting prejudice to escape him in a form to betray itself, and this too without the smallest qualification of common sense. What had my running about the streets of Paris to do with Sir Walter Scott's sitting down in the outer room at Galignani's, or *vice versâ*? I think I can explain this matter to the reader. The Messrs. Galignani had reprinted in the original, from sheets obtained in England, all my tales up to the time of my arrival at Paris. It was then necessary that I should take the charge of my own works, to secure my right at home; and I had an interview with one of the Messrs. Galignani on the subject. I was twice at their establishment. The first time, when nothing was determined, or indeed proposed, I sat down too in the outer room, being fatigued; and when I was rested, I went away, without in the least suspecting I had done anything particularly condescending. The second visit was

made a short time afterwards, accompanied by a European friend. The interview took place in a garden, and I was treated with so much superciliousness, that my stay was short. The gentleman with me expressed strong indignation at the manners of Mr. Galignani, and observed that, in my place, he would have nothing more to do with him. This advice was exactly in conformity with my own feelings, and I have never entered the building of the Messrs. Galignani from that hour to this. Probably this man repeated some of his tales to Mr. Hazlitt, who, yielding to a prejudice, has so far forgotten himself as to record them in the puerile manner in which they appear; and an American journal does not hesitate to circulate what has thus been written by a foreigner! I will furnish one proof of the weight that ought to be attached to these loose opinions of the Messrs. Galignani. When Mr. Horatio Greenough and Mr. Morse came up from Italy to Paris, in 1831, they went to the Galignanis in order to obtain my address. On asking for me, as friends, they were led to believe that I was an *habitué* of the rooms, and an intimate there! As to my making faces in society, and standing in the corner — heaven save the mark! I never saw Mr. Hazlitt but once, and never exchanged a syllable with him in

my life. At one of the public evenings of General Lafayette, I observed that the latter had been conversing with a stranger, who had the air of a student, and, as I thought, of an American. Believing it might be some one that I should be glad to know, I approached our illustrious host and asked if the conjecture was right. He told me that I was mistaken ; that the stranger was Mr. Hazlitt, offering to introduce me if I wished to make his acquaintance. I declined the introduction, in conformity with the rule already named, and from which I have never voluntarily departed. There was not so much reason, moreover, agreeably to the usages of society, why I should have sought an introduction to Mr. Hazlitt, as that Mr. Hazlitt should have made the first advances to me. But I did not care to make his acquaintance, and there the matter might very well have ended. It appears he did not think so ; for he wrote me down as a coxcomb, possibly in consequence of my showing no *empressement* to make his acquaintance. The reader is not to suppose that Mr. Hazlitt knew of General Lafayette's offer, for he did not ; but even if he had, it was no excuse for calumniating a man with whom he never exchanged a syllable. As to his assertion that I took pride in being

called "The American Walter Scott," it will be seen it was quite gratuitous; and, if permitted to speak for myself on this point, I shall merely say that it gave me just as much gratification as any nick-name can give a gentleman. There exists in all large towns, like London and Paris, a set of very equivocal gentlemen and ladies, who aim at bringing themselves into notice without much respect for propriety. These people, who ordinarily want both breeding and intellect, and not unfrequently character, seek out every object of notoriety, less with a view to flatter him than to enhance their own importance. They are not easily repulsed by the quiet negatives of good breeding, but often urge their requests to importunity. If denied, they almost invariably take their revenge by endeavouring to undervalue the very celebrity, as the French have it, that they had previously perhaps exaggerated. I was awkwardly placed as respects this troublesome class of patrons. A father and a husband, and one who did not choose altogether to overlook character in his associations, I have reason to think that a great many enemies were made in this way, and that a great number of idle reports that have reached me had their rise in the vindictive resentments of troublesome

adventurers of this sort. I remember a ludicrous case of their modesty, which shall be given. It was our misfortune to make a slight acquaintance with a family of this description in one of the Italian towns. The acquaintance, on our part, was managed with so much circumspection, that it was confined to the exchange of a few cards; and when we sent the usual signs of leave-taking, previously to quitting the place, we congratulated ourselves that the thing was happily ended. It seems we reckoned without our host; for, at a moment when the trunks were packed, the lodgings discharged, and we were actually on the point of departing, we got a visit, I might almost say, of reproach, for thinking of quitting the place without attending a rout that the family *intended* to give the following week, and to which we had not even received an invitation. The scene was ludicrously provoking. The modest proposal was made, and this by people who were now for the first time within my doors, that a large family should change all its arrangements, and postpone its departure, on a journey that was to transplant it from the centre of Italy to the centre of Germany, in order to attend "our party!" These people left us with the air of those who had received a serious

injury, and, like Mr. Hazlitt, may have ascribed my obstinacy to the fact that I was the “American Walter Scott.” A story founded on such an opinion would circulate widely in this country to any man’s disadvantage; and although in the case of a writer of mere fiction the consequences are of importance to no one but himself, there might easily occur instances in which the reputations of grave defenders of our dearest rights would be undermined by the facility of which I complain.

I forbear to state a great many shameless deceptions that have actually been practised at my individual expense on the American public. A brief recapitulation of two or three instances must suffice.

The “New York American” published in 1827 the translation of a review of the “Prairie,” with a view, as was stated in the journal, to show the reader the light in which the author was held by foreigners. This critical notice (if the declaration of the man himself is to be believed) was written by an American who had changed his religion, renounced his country, and who shortly afterwards absconded from Paris with a reputation that no one can envy.

In 1828 I saw a statement in a New York journal of an opinion that Sir Walter Scott

had expressed concerning the stand I had taken on national questions, and which opinion was intended to lower me in the estimation of my countrymen. This statement very evidently came from the enemy. It referred to a time when I had never seen Sir Walter Scott. When we did meet, literally the first words he uttered was to express his respect for the very course which this statement intended to deride.

In 1829 an account of the manner in which I employed my time at Rome was published, although I did not visit that city till five months afterwards.

During a negotiation with a Paris bookseller, I was rudely assailed in a French journal, for the purpose, as was afterwards admitted, of lessening the value of the publications in my own eyes. Such expedients are constantly resorted to in France.

At Florence, in 1829, a person obtruded himself on me in a manner opposed to all the forms of society, impudently announcing himself to be a French critic who had done a great deal to extend the circulation of my works. I need scarcely say that an acquaintance, ushered in with such an introduction, was declined. Just before leaving Europe, I accidentally learned that this person wrote against me in every

journal in which he could obtain admission for his articles. I believe the *critique* lately translated by the editor of the "American," from the "Journal des Débats," and which he compares with the communication of Cassio, in order to show that the latter was not borrowed, to have been written by this man. It is true I never saw the article in question before it appeared in the "American;" but it is written in the temper, and has the initial letters of my modest visitor. I believe much the greater part of the hostile French *critiques* on myself to have been written in a spirit of revenge by this man.

To such impositions is he liable who blindly copies from the journals of Europe. I could make this part of the case much stronger, but graver matter awaits our consideration.

The habit of fostering this deference to foreign opinion is dangerous to the very institutions under which we live. This is the point at which I have aimed from the commencement; for, while I feel that every defender of the action of our own system is entitled to fair play, I have never had the weakness to believe that any personal interests of my own are a matter of sufficient importance to others to require a publication like the present.

The practice of deferring to foreign opinion is dangerous to the institutions of the country.

In order to render the case that I wish to present clear, it will be necessary to take a short review of the institutions themselves.

The government of the United States is a peculiar confederation of many different bodies politic, for specified objects embracing certain of the higher functions of sovereignty, and to which we have given the appropriate name of a Union. The action of this government is obtained by a system of representation which, while it is compound and complicated in its elements, possesses in fact the redeeming and essential quality of simplicity, by providing that none but common interests shall be subject to its control. And yet, while we actually possess, under the provisions of the constitution, the essential requisite of an *ensemble* in the legal operation and spirit of the institutions, nothing is easier than to create an antagonist action by overstepping the limits of the compact. A single glance at the instrument itself will explain my meaning.

A Union, from its very nature, must be a representative form of government; but the mere circumstance that a government is repre-

sentative by no means establishes its character, which depends on the fact of who the parties are that are represented. Under our system, each state is the arbiter of its own constituency, subject to the single condition that its form of polity shall be that of a republic. A republic is a government in which the executive power is not hereditary, or in which the laws are administered in the name of a commonwealth instead of that of a prince. Venice, Poland, Frankfort, Unterwalden, Berne, and Connecticut, are or were all republics. New York, in virtue of its reserved rights, has decided that its constituency shall be represented on the principle of universal suffrage. Virginia has a freehold qualification. Either of these states has a right to modify its representation as it shall think best for its own interests. In point of fact, it is true the states of this Union are nearly all democracies ; but they have attained this near approach to harmony by their own acts ; for, under the limitations of the Federal Constitution, it is quite within the legal competency of the several bodies corporate which compose the Union to make that Union a representation of democracies, or of aristocracies, or of a mixture of both, by altering the characters of the respective constituencies. Did

the government of the United States possess more minute powers, therefore, and were the states to exercise the privilege just mentioned, making their representations a mixture of aristocracies and democracies, disunion or revolution would inevitably follow. Although there are instances in which monarchies and aristocracies coalesce in confederations for defined objects, as in Germany, and in which aristocracies and democracies unite for the same purposes, there is no instance in history in which these antagonist principles have long existed in the full exercise of equal powers in the form of a consolidated community. The struggle between them has always produced revolution in fact, whatever may have been done in form. By studying, then, the danger of a Union of great antagonist principles in a consolidated form of government, we are admonished to respect the conditions on which the possibility of their co-existence is admitted into our own system. Although Virginia, and certain other states, may possibly be termed representative democracies, when considered solely in reference to their white population, they are in truth even now mild aristocracies, when considered in reference to their whole population. Immaterial as the difference is in most cases between

the polity of Virginia and that of New York, there are some points of disagreement that sufficiently show how easy it is, by transcending the conditions of the Union, to awaken a spirit of hostility, and to endanger the existence of the compact that now binds them together. To these points of difference in principle may be added, as temporary causes of disunion, those interests which arise from difference of climate and productions.

Every government has two great classes of obstacles to contend with :—the propensities of human nature, and the difficulties that arise from its particular manner of controlling its own affairs. As the first is an evil that we share in common with all men, it may be dismissed without comment ; but in the case of the second, it will be useful to allude here to one or two of these particular causes of embarrassment as they exist under our own system.

The first great difficulty with which this government has to contend is, for reasons that are obvious, the accurate discrimination between the powers that are granted to the Union and those that are reserved by the states. The contests which may arise on these vital questions can give birth to the only true Whigs and Tories of America. The object of this

Union was not simply government,—this was possessed in the several states,—but it was to extend a uniform system over so large a space as to reap the greatest benefit from its action.

It has been said by others that the advantages of the Union, while they are admitted to be of the last importance, are of a purely negative character. This, I apprehend, is little more than clothing a truism in pretending language. The object of society in general is to enjoy the advantages of association and protection. To say, therefore, that we should be worse off without the Union, is but another method of saying that we are better off with it. In Europe, when the enemies of this system (and they are the friends of all others) are driven from position to position in the arguments that frequently occur between them and Americans, concerning the merits and probable duration of our polity, they uniformly raise the objection, "that your government is only a compromise." Every government is a compromise, or something worse. Every community that is not founded on such a principle must sacrifice some of its interests to others; and, in our own case, so far from believing that the mutual concessions that have been made in the compact of the Union are opposed to the

true spirit of government, I shall contend that they are proofs that its real objects and just limitations were properly understood. Disputes have certainly occurred, originating in a diversity of employments; but we have not yet reached the period when all the ordinary interests of civilised society are properly balanced. When that period shall arrive, and it cannot be distant, I think it will be found that this diversity of employments is an additional ligament to the Union. But, while no great weight is to be given to a mere diversity of employments, every attention is due to those feelings that enter into the daily habits and prejudices of men. In this country, facts greatly outrun opinion. This is one of the reasons that we see men looking behind them to Europe for precedents, instead of being willing to conduct their own affairs on their own principles. Had Congress the right to control those minute interests of society that touch the rooted practices of different sections of the Union, as they are now controlled by the state legislatures, the revenue of the Union would not be worth a year's purchase; for nothing but force would compel the Virginian and the Vermonter to submit to the same detail of social organisation. In such a case we should quickly see the vicious influence

of the adverse principles of democracy and aristocracy. Still, the constitution of the United States contemplates the co-existence of these antagonist forces in our system, through the several states ; and it fully admits of their representation, for it leaves to each community the power to decide on the character of its constituency. It follows as a corollary from the proposition, that either the framers of the constitution were guilty of the gross neglect of admitting into the government of the Union the seeds of its own destruction, or that they devised means to obviate the natural conflict between principles so irreconcileably hostile. They did the latter, by limiting the powers of the new government to the control of those interests that take the same general aspects under every form of civilised society, let the authority emanate from what sources it may. This provision, then, is our only safeguard, and while it is respected there is little serious ground to apprehend the downfall of the system ; but as soon as innovation shall make any serious inroads on these sacred limits, the bond which unites us will be severed. From all this is to be inferred the immense importance of keeping the action of the general government most rigidly within its defined sphere, to the utter ex-

clusion of all construction but that which is clearly and distinctly to be inferred by honest deductions of powers that are conceded in terms.

To the danger which awaits any departure from a severe interpretation of the constitution, as it is to be apprehended from the possibility, and indeed it might be added, the actual existence, of different elements in the federal constituency, may be added that which arises from the facility of action through the organised forms of the state governments. The latter, however, when considered as distinct from the difference in these elements themselves, is a danger that arises solely from the inherent vices and weaknesses of man. They may or they may not lead to evil, as circumstances shall direct ; but the existence of antagonist principles, or of conflicting elements, in the construction of any government, *must lead to dissension*, unless some unusual preventive is devised. As has been seen in our own case, the expedient is a limitation of powers.

The second embarrassment dependent on its own details, with which the federal government has to contend, is the possibility of an occasional want of concurrence in views and action between the different branches of the constituted

authorities. This evil is peculiar to our own form of polity. It does not exist in England, and is almost the only solid advantage which that country, in a political point of view, possesses over our own.

As I am aware there will be a disposition to cavil at many of these positions, I may be permitted a word in the way of explanation. It has been said that in no other form of government is there the same danger from temporary collisions between the different branches of power, as in our own. To this would probably be objected the examples of England, at certain periods of her history ; of France, since the restoration, and of divers of what are called the constitutional states of Germany—such as Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, the Hessen and Nassau. As respects the latter, while they are included in the reasons about to be given in relation to the two others, the instances they afford are entitled to no respect, for they are all under the control of an external and a superior force. Austria, Prussia, and Russia would interfere to coerce the people,* and the knowledge of this fact only has probably prevented revolution in them all.

* France also might now be added to the list of those states that would, directly or indirectly, lend its influence to effect the same object.

England, so far from being an exception to the ground just taken, affords the strongest proof of its justice. The revolution of 1668 was owing to a struggle between the powers of the state. Previously to that period the prerogative was in the ascendant, and since that period it has been constantly on the wane, until it is completely annihilated as to all practical political authority. The laws are still administered in the name of the king, it is true—his signature is necessary to certain acts, and he is yet called the head of the church and state; but aristocracy has cast its web about him with so much ingenuity, that the premier conducts his hand, the chancellor wields his conscience, and parliament feeds him, until he is reduced to the condition of a well-dressed lay-figure. There undeniably was a contest between parliament and the prerogative during the four reigns that preceded the last, and the result goes to prove the very position I have taken. This contest has wrought the effects of revolution, perverting the government from a monarchy to an oligarchy. The entire authority of the state, even to that of dictating his ministers to the king, is virtually in the hands of parliament. Open, palpable revolution has

been carefully avoided, simply because the tendency of such convulsions is to elevate the low and to depress the great, and it was the wish of the aristocracy to effect its purpose by indirect means, and by the fictions of legality. The ascendancy of the thousand families who control the British Empire has been obtained under the cry of liberty.

As the situation of France has not admitted of as much legal fraud as that of England, her example, since the restoration, is still more plainly in favour of the truth of our position. The contest between the crown and the chambers led Louis XVIII. to alter the charter; and a few years later, when opinion had gathered force, and legislation began to assume most of its ordinary attributes, his successor lost his crown in making a similar attempt.

Thus far, in quoting the examples of the European states, it has been the intention to show merely the inevitable tendency of struggles between the executive and the legislature, considered in connexion with leading principles, and under the supposition that the constituency and the representation are of the same mind. In the cases of what are called in Europe repre-

sentative governments, the eventual* danger has been somewhat lessened, and the temporary inconvenience removed, by a very simple expedient. The crown has power to prorogue or dissolve the legislature. The reasons, therefore, why the embarrassment that arises from temporary collisions between the executive and the legislature is greater in America than in England or France, are to be found in the fact that the chambers can be dissolved, and the fact that should the new elections be adverse to those who wield the power of the crown, the chambers, in their turn, compel a change of ministers. The alternative, as was the case in France in 1830, is revolution. It is unnecessary to say that the executive of this country has no power to dissolve Congress, or Congress any power to dissolve a ministry. The inevitable consequences of the continuance of such collisions, viz. revolution, or changes equal in effect to revolution, is obviated only by the frequency of the elections.

* In England the danger has been averted by virtually reducing all the powers of the government to one body. The constituency of England is, as to political effect, the property of the representation. In cases where the landlord does not control, the open vote gives the richest man nearly the certainty of being elected. The exceptions do not affect the rule.

We will return to our own polity.

It will be admitted that the government of the United States is one of powers delegated for limited and defined purposes. Its authority is to be found only in the constitution. Precedent, as it is derived from our own practice, is valuable merely as it has been established on sound principles, and, as it is derived from the practices of others, is to be received with a cautious examination into its fitness for our peculiar condition.

The highest authority known to the constitution, in its spirit, is the constituency. It sits in judgment over all, and approves or condemns at pleasure. All the branches of the deputed government, executive, legislative, and judicial, are equally amenable to its decisions. It has retained the power of even changing the characters of its several servants; of placing the authority of the president in the hands of a committee of Congress, or in any other depository it shall select; of dispensing with the judiciary altogether, or of modifying its duties at pleasure; of re-modelling the legislature, and of issuing to it new commissions, as it shall see fit. The only restraint it has laid on its own acts, is a provision pointing out the form in which its will is to be expressed, and a soli-

tary condition touching that delicate point of the rights of the several states, which secures to each an equal representation in the senate. When the constituency and the people are identical, this becomes political liberty.

The highest attributes of the constituency are delegated to the legislature, whose powers are as carefully and as distinctly defined as the nature of things would well permit. The judiciary and executive are, in a great degree, subordinate to the will of the latter, on which there is no restraint but the provisions of the compact, and from which, when legitimately exercised, there is no appeal but to the constituency. Its members act with no other responsibility than that which they owe to their own body, and to the judgments that may be passed upon their measures by those who issued their commissions. Unlike the executive and the judiciary, they are liable to no impeachment.* When the irresponsible nature of such a power,

* This is an instance in which imitation has led us astray from the commencement. What sufficient reason can be given why the representative, in a system like ours, should not be tried and punished for an abuse of trust, as well as a judge, or the president? In countries in which the representative is either an advocate or a master, there is good cause for his impunity; but in ours, where he is only a servant, there is none.

divided as it is among many, is taken in connexion with its extent, it is very obvious that far more danger is to be apprehended from the legislature, through innovations on the principles of the constitution under the forms of law, than from either of the two other branches of the government. They all exercise delegated powers, it is true, and powers that can be perverted from their legitimate uses ; but Congress is the least restrained, while it possesses the highest authority. It follows of necessity that it is the branch of this government most likely to abuse its trust.

Obvious as are these facts, what has just been said is not the popular manner of viewing the subject. The English aristocracy has so long been innovating on the prerogative of the crown, under the cry of liberty, and the *theory* of the English constitution has so artfully favoured such a mystification, that we have caught the feelings of another country, and are apt to consider those to whom we have confided the greatest authority, under the least responsibility, the exclusive guardians of our liberties ! Such an opinion can only be entertained by a sacrifice of both fact and reason. The constituency is its own protector, or our pretension to real liberty would be idle. The ex-

cutive is a creature of our own forming, and for our own good, and it is manifestly a weakness to confound him, or his authority, with a prince and his prerogative, the latter being based on the divine right.

In a monarchy, power is supposed to be the prerogative of the crown; and what is called liberty is no more than concessions obtained from the sovereign in behalf of the subject. Under really free institutions, government itself is no more than a concession of powers for the benefit of protection and association. It is very possible that these mutual concessions should produce an exactly similar set of subordinate ordinances or laws, and yet one government shall enjoy real freedom, and the other possess no more than its shadow. The essence of liberty is in the ultimate power to control, as residing in the body of the nation. Its form is exhibited through the responsibility of the public agents.

The inference that I could wish to draw from this brief statement is the absolute necessity of construing the Constitution of the United States on its own principles; of rigidly respecting the spirit as well as the letter of its provisions; and of never attempting to avert any evil which may arise under the practice of the government,

in any other manner than that which is pointed out by the instrument itself. On no other terms can this Union be perpetuated; and on these terms, there is reason to believe that our prospect of national happiness and power exceeds that of any other people on the globe.

Many abuses might be named that arise from the habit of seeking authorities for our practice among other nations, instead of taking those which form the compact between the states. The King of England, or those who wield the prerogative in his name, are the fountains of honour, and they make such appointments as they please, and in any mode or form they shall see fit, and any objection raised to the course taken by our government is usually met by some precedent derived from the usages of England. He who points to the constitution is answered by a saying of Mr. Burke, or a decision of my Lord Mansfield! These cases have been mentioned because they have occurred openly, and even party spirit has so far acquiesced in the authority of European precedent, that it has never assailed those who have been the agents of permitting their existence.

Let us see if Congress itself is exempt from the sinister influence of foreign example.

The late events connected with the removal

of the deposits are known to every one. The President directs the secretary of the treasury to withdraw the public monies from the Bank of the United States, and on receiving a refusal, he removes the incumbent, and fills the place with an officer disposed to comply. This officer, agreeably to a provision of the law which gave him authority to perform the act, makes a report of his reasons to Congress. The senate of the United States, after a long debate on the subject-matter of the report, passes a separate resolution, declaring, in substance, that the interference of the President in this affair was unconstitutional. To this vote the President asks leave to enter a solemn protest, principally on the ground that it is, in effect, a judgment pronounced without the forms of law.

With the legality of the course pursued by the President, or with the justness of the exceptions he has taken to the vote of the senate, so far as they relate to its judicial effect, the objects of this letter have no connexion. But as every citizen who expresses his opinions with due moderation, and with a suitable deference to the sentiments of others, has a right to lay his objections to the acts of any or every department of the government before the public, I shall attempt to show, that, by the letter of

the constitution, by a fair construction of its spirit, and from all just reasoning through inferences to be drawn from the good and evil of the step it has taken, the senate of the United States had no authority whatever to pass any separate resolution at all on the subject, whether in favour of, or against the conduct of the executive ; and that all the authority which can or has been quoted to the contrary, is derived from a state of things so essentially different from our own, as to be valueless, or worse than none. The reader will at once perceive that if this position can be made good, it will be in perfect conformity with the general drift of this letter.

In analyzing the authority of Congress, we are to look nowhere but to the constitution. Burke and De Lolme and Hallam were all able writers; Pitt, Fox, and many others, have been eloquent speakers, but neither of them had any concern with the compact that binds these states together. It is purely a bargain of our own making, and it should be a bargain of our own construing. So far as precedent is connected with mere parliamentary usage, in reference to forms only, and to principles as they relate to forms, the authority of the statesmen named may be entitled, with many excep-

tions, to their weight ; but when there is question of the great principles of our government, or of its peculiar action, authorities from such a source are to be received like advice from an enemy. The liberty of which they speak is not our liberty. It means no more than power wrested from the repository which has held it for ages by the accidents and usages of monarchy and feodality, and is meant to descend no lower than a particular caste. The liberty with which we are concerned is regularly based on the foundations of the people, and is intended for their benefit.

The senate of the United States has passed a separate resolution, pronouncing the conduct of the President to be unconstitutional in reference to a certain exercise of authority. On the mere merits of this step the public mind is divided, although very few indeed question its right to take a separate resolution, except as it is prejudging a case on which its members may be called to decide as triers under an impeachment. So rooted is the feeling that the legislature is the guardian of our liberties, that most men do not see that, under a system like our own, every particle of power it exercises is abstracted from the constituent ! The concessions that have been made to Congress may all

have been made in the interest of order and good government ; but, so far as a blind jealousy is in any manner to be justified, it is no more than common sense to take care that it should be felt on our own side of the question. Let us now look for the powers under which the senate has acted.

The *manner* in which the constitution has delegated power to Congress is of some moment in such an investigation. That instrument commences with saying, that all legislative authority shall reside in the *two houses* of Congress. It then speaks of the organization and of the elements of the respective bodies, and of the forms of elections. An entire section is next devoted to the *separate* powers of each house. If any *direct* authority for the vote of the senate is contained in the constitution, it is naturally to be looked for in this section. The only clause that contains anything which the most fertile imagination has attempted to torture into authority to take a vote of censure on the acts of the President, is the second. By the second clause, "each house may determine the rules of its proceedings," &c. But to determine the *manner* of performing functions so obviously does not infer a right to create them, that this opinion is entitled to no respect.

In those sections which treat of the organization of the respective houses, there are clauses giving to each body the power to choose its own officers, with one exception in the case of the senate, and which give to the house of representatives the sole power of impeachment, and to the senate the right to sit in judgment. The constitution, in speaking of the manner of electing the President, refers the choice to the house of representatives in a certain contingency, and it gives to the senate the power to count the votes that come from the electoral colleges. These several clauses embrace all the powers directly granted to each house to act separately, that is contained in the instrument from which all the power they have to act at all is derived. It is a just inference from the minute specification of the powers which are expressly granted, many of which are of a kind that were indispensably requisite for the action of the respective houses, and might safely have been left to construction, if it had been intended to leave any *principle* whatever to construction, that no other authority was in any case to be exercised by either house of Congress *separately*. Even the power to keep a separate record of its own proceedings is granted to each house in terms,

a right that might fairly enough be supposed to be incidental to that of proceeding at all. It must be conceded, then, that the constitution has granted no *direct* authority to the senate to pass a simple vote of censure on the acts of the President, or on those of the meanest citizen of the land. Unless it can be found in a just and fair construction, therefore, of some power that has been *directly* granted, we shall be driven to our old enemy imitation, and imitation of a system so opposed to our own as to render it doubly hazardous.

Construction is a fruitful source of power. The constitution has provided, however, an important check against its abuse, by declaring that all powers which are not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to the states, "are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." By the people, is meant, as a matter of course, the constituency. Common prudence would seem to say, that construction, under a compact like our own, should be jealously limited to clear inferences from the powers that are granted in terms. In this view of the case, the act of the senate can be sustained by no sufficient authority, since there is no authority expressly granted to that body to act separately that can, in any manner, be

tortured into such an inference. This difficulty has been foreseen, and they who sustain the conduct of the senate, depend on precedent and general principles, or maintain that its act was merely preparatory to ordinary legislation.

There can be no doubt that Congress (not the senate alone) had a right to act on the report of the secretary of the treasury in relation to the removal of the deposits. It had full power to order them to be restored to the Bank of the United States. This could be done, it is to be presumed, under the spirit of the charter, by a simple resolution or order. But the constitution commands that "every order, resolution, or vote," which requires the concurrence of the two houses, that of adjournment alone excepted, shall be sent to the President for his approval, as in the case of a bill; and in the event of his disapproving, that it shall be carried by a two-thirds vote in each house, before it take effect. No one can believe that the President would approve of a resolution to restore the deposits, or of a vote of censure on himself. It is matter of notoriety, that the house of representatives is of the same way of thinking. An attempt at legislation, therefore, would have failed. This is probably the reason that there has been no

attempt at legislation.* The vote of the senate is a simple, unqualified vote of censure, as to its effect, and in its form it is the mere expression of an opinion of that body. To say that it has any connexion with ordinary legislation, is to insult the meanest intellect. We are consequently driven to general principles, or to precedent, for the authority we are seeking.

Precedent derived from our own practices may be adduced in extenuation of even an erroneous procedure, beyond a question; but, unless the procedure itself can be justified on principles that arise from our own state of things, so far as the argument of this letter is concerned, the more the practice has prevailed, the greater is the evil which it is its object to expose.

It is claimed as a parliamentary usage, from time immemorial, for legislative bodies to express their opinions on public measures in this mode. The justification of the senate is rested on this circumstance more than on any other, and certainly it is the best attempt at justification that has been made. Let us examine its validity.

* Notice of an attempt at legislation on this subject has just been given by the very senator who introduced the vote of censure; a circumstance that of itself shows he did not keep legislation in view in the original step.

The practices of the colonial legislatures must be identified with those of parliament, for the struggle, or the pretence of a struggle, between the prerogative of the crown and the franchises of the people, was common to all, inducing the same modes of attack and defence. The practices of the state legislatures, if opposed to the principles of their respective governments, or not warranted by direct concessions from the people, are liable to the same objection as the act of the senate, and only go to prove the extent of the evil, like precedents derived from Congress.

Were the argument to rest here, I should be prepared to say for one, that the senate, having no sufficient power delegated by the constitution, overstepped its authority in passing any resolution on the subject at all, as unconnected with legislation, and in the absence of the forms of impeachment, let precedent decide as it might. I do not believe that Congress itself, far less one of its bodies separately, can find authority in the constitution for passing a resolution of this nature, with no other view than a mere expression of its opinion; and I cannot but think, that the constitution of the United States ought to prevail against precedent, let it come from what source it may.

But it is my intention to give the argument all the benefit it can receive from the practices of parliament, reserving the right to make use of principles to defeat their effect, for such an illustration is the precise point to which I most desire to bring the reader.

It will be conceded that some legitimate good must be the object of every general construction of power in a state, or the measure becomes an act of tyranny as well as of usurpation.

The two houses of parliament do pass resolutions, both separate and concurrent, censuring the conduct of those who are termed "his majesty's ministers," but who are, in truth, the ministers of parliament. They censure those who are responsible to themselves, who are appointed at their pleasure, and who retire before their frown. An honourable member of the senate has lately said that he was not *his* senator, in allusion to the executive, and it was well said. He might have gone farther, and have added, Nor am I *my own* senator. He is *our* senator, and the President is *our* President, and we commissioned both to discharge certain important public trusts, under very positive limitations of authority.

There is a *motive* for the censure of parlia-

ment. It is a test of parties, and the precursor of a change. Either parliament or ministers must yield. There is, in fact, no popular constituency in the question. The peers represent themselves, and the commons represent the money of the rich, that of the peers included. So closely was the price of a seat in the lower house calculated, before the late reform, that it was generally estimated that it cost £1000 a year, taking into the account the chances of a dissolution. A vote of censure on the king cannot be passed, for parliament still respects the fictions of the constitution, and it would be useless; but votes of censure on the ministers are common: they are the usual method of ascertaining the strength of parties, and the ordinary mode of producing a change of measures, or, at least, of men.

What has all this in common with the principles or the ordinances of the American constitution? The censures of Congress cannot drive a President from his chair, or even a Secretary from his cabinet. They both virtually hold their places by the same tenure as that of Congress itself. They are equally the servants of the people, who have reserved to themselves the right to judge of their conduct. But while the vote of the senate can do no

good, it may and has done much harm. It has brought into action the second great embarrassment peculiar to the details of this form of government — that of creating dissension between its different branches — by which the interests, not of “his majesty,” but of the people, suffer. The supplies of this very year have been so long delayed, in consequence of the determination of the opposition to embarrass the executive, according to the English mode, that individuals have been compelled to pay heavy penalties for the benefit of the imitation. Government cannot be sued,* and contractors must await its justice. It is not agreeable, however, to pay three per cent. a month for money that would be forthcoming if Burke and Chatham, and the Parliamentary History of England, were less in the hands of some of our legislators, and the constitution more.

The cry of withholding the supplies has reached the press, and, in some cases, the people. If the supplies are not just in themselves,

* There is another instance of error, arising from imitation at the commencement. In countries in which the rights of the subject are no more than concessions from power, we can understand why a government should not be sued; but under our polity, reason and justice would both say that every facility should be given to the weak to enforce their claims against the strong.

if they are extravagant in amount, or prodigal in expenditure, they should never have been granted at all; but for a legislator to manifest that he is opposed to granting them merely with a view to embarrass an administration, is a direct insult on the intelligence of the constituency. It is not withholding *its* supplies, but it is withholding *our* supplies. Parliament, by adopting a system of withholding the supplies, has annihilated the prerogative, except as it is wielded for its own purposes. The President will still be President, though Congress refuse to vote a dollar; and the faith of this nation will be violated if his salary be not punctually paid. If he commit grave faults pending the legal term of service, impeachment and punishment are the remedies, and every four years the people sit in judgment on the merits of his acts. This measure of withholding the supplies is peculiarly English; it is the means by which parliament has destroyed whatever of balance the government ever had, and is the simplest, the most obvious, and the most dangerous of all the modes of legislative usurpation. It is time to begin to consider our legislators in their true character—not as sentinels to watch the executive merely, but as those of

the public servants the most likely to exceed their delegated authority.

I am quite prepared for the feeling to which these remarks will be likely to give birth. It is one of the prominent evils of this system of imitation, that the minds of the constituency themselves get to be poisoned. A false direction is given to the public watchfulness. Already we have the President, an officer created for our public benefit, compared to the King of England. It may be useful here to institute a short comparison between the authorities of these two functionaries. The King, it is true, now merely *represents* the prerogative, the latter being wielded at the will of parliament, but we will consider him as he exists in theory, and as other kings yet exist in fact.

The right of the King to his crown is derived from descent, and is inalienable. He can declare war and make peace. He is the head of the church, the fountain of honour, and can do no wrong. Here is certainly no resemblance to a President. Both command the armies, but on very different conditions. The President is merely a generalissimo, Congress being an aulic council to direct him as it shall please, and he must do very much as it shall direct ; being, in

his military capacity, virtually as much under the law as the lowest corporal in the ranks. Parliamentary usurpation may have reduced the King of England as low, it is true, compelling him as civil king to bind himself as military king; but it is not so in France, and other countries where the prerogatives are still exercised by the sovereigns. The King of France can raise as many men by enlistment as he shall see fit, provided he can find means to pay them. The army is his army. In such a state of things, there may be a good reason for withholding the supplies. As keepers of the public monies, the trusts and duties of both King and President are the same. It is no more than to name competent agents, and so far from being a benefit, in both cases it is an onerous charge; such a charge as men in commercial life ordinarily asked two and a half per cent. on the amounts received and paid, for assuming, and this, too, with the additional advantage of mingling them, for the time being, with their private resources. The King can do no wrong; the President is responsible for his acts, both by the ordinary law, and under an impeachment. It follows that there is no great analogy between a President and a King.

To return to the act of the senate. We

have already considered it in relation to its authority, and we will now look for its real character. It is not legislative beyond a doubt. It is neither more nor less than a solemn expression of an opinion by that honourable body, in its collected capacity. As, in the absence of direct authority, it is required to justify the act on principles applicable to our especial condition, we must look to all its probable results in estimating its propriety.

An expression of an opinion that has so clear a tendency to embarrass the action of government, especially created for the sole benefit of the constituency, should have some high countervailing advantage. It cannot have been uttered to the world for the information of the senators themselves, or in order that they may know their own minds. It was not expected, at least not plausibly expected, that it would cause the President to retrace his steps ; to re-appoint Mr. Duane, and to restore the deposits. If such was the intention, the failure might have been foreseen. From this quarter it has produced a protest, and feelings between the President and senate of which much evil and no good to the public service are to be the consequences. But, I shall be informed, it is telling the nation what the senate thinks of the

conduct of its executive. This is very true, and in reply, as was very reasonably to be anticipated, the President, in his turn, has told the nation what he thinks of the conduct of the senate. It remains for the nation now to say what it thinks of the conduct of both. If the senate has passed this resolution for the benefit of the nation, (and all its formal acts have a false direction that have not this tendency,) it remains to be seen in what manner. We have not been told a fact, but the senate's *opinion* of a fact. The fact was as well known to us all as to the senate itself. Why has the senate given us its opinion in this matter? In order to extract ours in reply? At the proper time our opinion would have been made known, without this interference of the senate. But, it will be said, the senate is a learned and an intellectual body, and its opinion will have weight with the constituency, and influence the public mind. There has been a great deal said, and said cleverly too, on the subject of the right of the constituent to instruct his representative; but this doctrine savours strongly of a right in the representative to instruct his constituent! The senate was never commissioned to act in this manner on the public will, and the practice is liable to the grossest abuses. If the Presi-

dent can be censured, candidates for the presidency can be censured too. Means will never be wanting, and the two houses of Congress will degenerate into mere electioneering caucuses.

But is not this a free country, freer than England?—is not Congress our representation, and shall not Congress do that which parliament does daily? God forbid that Congress should ever have power to do that which parliament does daily; and, on the other hand, God forbid that the President should not do daily that which the King of England (of his own will) cannot do at all! Parliament has seized upon the executive powers, and rendered the King a cipher; it wields the prerogative in his name; it has pulled down and set up dynasties: it is both law and constitution; it has established a religion and is about to destroy one; it has rendered the judges dependant on its pleasure; and, quite lately, it has even changed its own elements! Parliament is absolute. Who is there bold enough in this nation to say that he wishes Congress to possess the powers of parliament? Congress is composed of what the lawyers call “attorneys in fact,” and when we see it overstepping in the least its delegated functions, our feelings should

be like those of one who has authorized another to sell, in his name, a single acre of his land, and who learns that his agent has so interpreted his authority, that he is about to dispose of the whole estate.

If the President could do no more than the King of England can do in fact, (putting fictions out of the question,) we should be incurring the evils of periodical elections, and paying 25,000 dollars a year to one of our own citizens to live in the White House and do nothing.

If the vote of the senate is not authorized by any direct power delegated by the constituency in the great national compact ; if it cannot be justified by fair deductions from any power that is so delegated ; and if a just consideration of the uses and origin of similar authority, as it is exercised in other countries, shows that its exercise here, on the same principles, is opposed to the spirit of our own institutions ; where are we to look for the vindication of the step of that body ? It can be found only in precedents derived from our own practice ; and precedents of evil derived from our own practice, and founded on the usages of the English parliament, only make the case it is my wish to present so much the stronger.

The evil is not limited to the vote of the

senate. The house of representatives, as anxious to support as the senate is to condemn the course of the executive, has sent a committee to investigate the affairs of the Bank, and, the directors of the institution refusing to acquiesce in the measure, a resolution is introduced to arrest the whole body for contempt. Whence is the power derived by which Congress itself can take such a step? Why parliament does it! But it has been seen that parliament does a great deal that it would be considered tyranny and usurpation for Congress to attempt. The constitution gives no power to Congress to arrest any one for contempt. Each house is master of its own hall, and there its police power ends. But the constitution gives Congress power to pass all laws necessary to carry the defined powers into effect; and this measure is required to extort information that is important to the public good. The constitution *has* given this authority to Congress, and it will be time enough for any branch of the government to use it, when Congress, by law, has vested it with the necessary authority.

It would be more respectable, and far safer, were we to make an effort to conduct our own affairs on our own principles. If this Union shall ever be destroyed by any error or faults

of an internal origin, it will not be by executive, but by legislative usurpation. The former is easily enough restrained; while the latter, cloaked under the appearance of legality and representation, is but too apt to carry the public sentiment with it. England has changed its form of government, from that of a monarchy to that of an exceedingly oppressive aristocracy, precisely in this manner.

The habit of listening to another people, and of imbibing their prejudices and peculiar ways of thinking, does not limit its injury to the representation of the country. The constituency itself becomes tainted by the communion, and ceases to judge of its own interests on its own principles. This is the penalty we pay for being the younger and the less important nation. The question that has just been considered furnishes proof of what is said.

The contest between the executive and the senate has very naturally aroused the friends of the respective parties, and strange political heresies are rife among us. My limits will admit of but one or two brief examples.

In his protest, the President lays down the doctrine, that the keeping of the public moneys must be confided to those whose tenure of office is left to his official discretion, and whose man-

ner of discharging their trusts must of necessity be submitted to his supervision and approval. Now against this plain, constitutional position, there is raised a cry from one extremity of the Union to the other, which, to say the least, is not of the most prudent and reflecting character. It is highly probable that some precedent may be found in the speeches of Lord Chatham or Mr. Burke, in which the danger of executive usurpation in some way connected with the public money is pointed out, and which, *if admitted as authority*, will make General Jackson appear in but very indifferent colours in the eyes of his fellow-citizens. But General Jackson, although he can do what the King of England cannot do, is not the King of England after all. He is our fellow-citizen, named to a high trust for a definite period, and with a defined authority. Common sense and common honesty would tell us, therefore, the expediency of looking into the conditions of the bargain under which he has accepted service, before we open the vials of our wrath upon his head. What says the constitution which we have compelled him to swear he will defend? It says, in so many words, that he shall have the power of appointing all the officers of the government (with the

consent and advice of the senate), with the exception of those whose appointment is provided for by the constitution itself, and of certain *inferior officers*, whose appointment Congress can, by law, place in the gift of either the President alone, of the heads of departments, or of the courts of law. It will be well for us to remember that “power,” as it is used in the American constitution, is but another word for *duty*. As the constitution is silent on the subject of the appointment of a treasurer of the United States, and the office is certainly a very important office, and not an inferior one, it follows, as a matter of course, that the keeping of the money cannot be placed beyond the supervision and authority of the executive. Congress can say that the money shall be kept where or in whatever manner it shall please; it can put the trust in the hands of commissioners, and as many as it shall see fit to order; but it cannot say who those commissioners shall be, for the simple reason that the constitution is silent as to the existence of any such power in Congress, and has spoken as plainly as words can speak, to say that another shall possess it. English reasoning has so far prevailed, however, that we have been plainly told Congress can raise a committee of

its own body to keep the money, or it can put it in the custody of the vice-president and of the judges, who are independent of the President, and thus rescue us from tyranny. As for the judges, they have already spoken their minds on this subject, and have told Congress, in the matter of the pensions, that they shall assume no duties that the constitution has not authorised. The vice-president may certainly be named as a commissioner for keeping the public money, by the President and senate, holding the appointment at the pleasure of the former; but it is far beyond the power of Congress to give him a character as *vice-president* that is not bestowed already by the constitution.* It would be just as lawful for the executive to pretend to give new powers to Congress itself. The powers or duties of the several branches of government can only be varied by the highest legislation of the land —that of the constituency, convened in the representation prescribed by the national compact. Congress, having no power to hold the money itself, can grant none to a committee of its own body. It is exclusively a legislative

* The writer is here answering an argument used by one of his personal friends at a public meeting, and which has been sent to him in one of the newspapers of the day.

corps, (as Congress,) and it can exercise even that authority only, subject to the limitations mentioned in the constitution.

Many will feel disposed to exclaim against a state of things which places so much power in the hands of one man. I see far less apprehension of executive, than of legislative usurpation in this country. Still, I am willing to admit that the President has too much authority for our form of government. This is precisely one of the points in which imitation led the framers of the constitution astray. It would be better, for instance, if Congress had power to appoint a treasurer, as is practised in most of the state governments; but should Congress attempt to remedy the evil by simple parliamentary action, it will, as I humbly object, be carrying imitation to a still more dangerous extreme. Before we are *Burked* out of our constitutional existence, let us at least make an attempt to try some of the expedients of our own system.

I have reserved the gravest instances of dependence on foreign opinion to the last.

Combinations exist to coerce the citizen.*

* There will probably be a disposition to deny the fact. The writer only asserts what he has heard openly defended; and that which, it is in evidence, has been practised.

The labourer is menaced ; he is discharged if he will not vote in conformity with the will of his employer. This is striking at the root of the social compact—at the rights of the constituency itself. It is an accursed principle imported from that land which, while I fully admit its greatness and its importance even to ourselves in many particulars, moral as well as physical, has probably sent us quite as much evil as good.

The pretence that the employer has a right to coerce the vote of the employed, is neither more nor less than maintaining the doctrine of the *representation* of property in its worst, because in its most oppressive and fraudulent form. We have solemnly decreed that property *shall not be represented*; even those states that still exact a money *qualification* in the voters, limit the demand to that of a *qualification* only : we have protected the elector by the ballot, and various other legal safeguards ; and yet, so pernicious is the influence of that country from which we so largely imbibe our opinions, that the heresy is openly maintained by perhaps a majority of those who are most in the habit of looking abroad for rules of thought.

The power to use another's vote is thorough-

ly English. Parliament itself is no other than a collection of the rich, (or of their nominees,) who command the electors themselves to give them authority. The system is a pure mystification, and the day when it really gets root in this country may be looked upon as the commencement of a rule that is to subvert the institutions, and to place us where England is placed to-day,—in the hands of the selfish, the mercenary, and the purchased, without any other relief from their usurpations than such as is to be obtained from the throes of the oppressed. We may get reform as England has got reform,—by tumults and conflagrations, and threats of revolution; but we shall no longer obtain redress by the quiet, safe, and humane expedient of the ballot-boxes.

Another baneful effect of this foreign domination is the fact, that our best and least rewarded servants are rendered subject to an influence that is hostile to our rights, our national character, and our nearest interests. All who can recal the events of the last war, must remember with what a niggardly spirit applause was meted out to those who shed their blood in the nation's defence, by the *doctrinaires* created by this habit of deferring to strangers. One legislature solemnly voted that

our soldiers and seamen were no better than so many mercenaries, fighting against God and his truth ! This was not merely party spirit ; party spirit exists in England and in France to an extent quite equalling anything of the same nature that ever existed here, but the English and the French never refuse to honour their defenders. In this country, without pensions, orders, titles, or even military rank, we strip patriotism to the skin, leaving it little more than opinion for its reward, and, by the propensity of which there is complaint, we rob it, in part, of even this insufficient recompense.

What can be more grievous than the case of a citizen who ventures upon the high seas, under the protection of his country's flag, and who is violently dragged, with insults and not unfrequently with robbery, into the service of another people, where he is made to risk both life and morals, to uphold a state of things that, rightly considered, is perhaps more antagonist to the system under which he was born than any other that can be named ? Such was impressment. We all know its practice ; and yet, to such an extent did mental dependence carry subserviency among us, that, I am not sure I might not say, a majority of our

theorists as stoutly maintained the right of England to enter our ships, exacting from us the proofs of citizenship, and of exercising a power so insulting and so injurious, as if they were contending for the privileges of their liege lord. I know not what Mr. Burke might have said on this subject, but I happen to know the opinion of that upright, practical, and gallant old seaman, Lord Collingwood; and it was simply that, were the case reversed, England herself would not submit to such a practice for an hour. If England wishes the services of her seamen, the simplest rules of justice prescribe that she should find means to keep them at home, and that she is not to enforce her own municipal regulations by invading the sovereignty of foreign nations. What renders the practice still more insulting, is the fact that, at the very time she practised this wrong on others, she drew into her own marines, both military and commercial, all the foreigners she could entice, in addition to those who were compelled to serve her.

Do not deceive yourselves with the belief that these things are not seen and understood by others. There exists in this country an unaccountable delusion on the subject of the manner in which the American name and cha-

racter are viewed in foreign countries. Diplomatic courtesy, the exaggerated expressions of European intercourse, and the deceptions of the designing, appear to have aided vanity in throwing a film before the eyes of too many of us, on this point. He who could wish the estimation of his countrymen to be lower than it actually is, must have a zest for humility that will one day procure canonization. Heaven knows how willingly I would tell you the contrary, if, in honesty, I could; but, in order to tell you the truth, I am compelled to say that I believe there is not another nation of Christendom whose people enjoy less positive favour than our own. We are not so generally hated as the English, it is true; but I am far from being sure that the alternative is any better. I feel certain that one of the chief causes of this state of feeling springs from the fact that we are so often untrue to ourselves. The impression that our infidelity makes on foreigners is painfully humiliating.

One of the most melancholy consequences of this habit of deferring to other nations, and to other systems, is the fact that it causes us to undervalue the high blessings we so peculiarly enjoy, to render us ungrateful towards God, and to make us unjust to our fellow-men,

by throwing obstacles in their progress towards liberty.

There is an impatience of existing practical evils that causes many of the best-disposed men of this nation to overlook the real merits of the great question that is now agitating Christendom. No one will deny that we have our own particular causes of complaint, and that a very great portion of them are the offspring of democracy. Were it not for this, we should be perfect. All the evil that is dependent on polity, and which is peculiarly our own, has this origin. It can have no other, for there is no monarch nor aristocracy (practically and politically considered), to produce a different. But let him who has known both England and America intimately, compare the disadvantages of the systems; and, if an honest and a sensible man, he will tell you to be content with your lot. Artful, intriguing demagogues get uppermost among us too often, beyond a doubt; but where do they not? The difference between a demagogue and a courtier is not worth disputing about. We have the certainty of knowing that when such men do arrive at power, they are reduced to something very near the *minimum* of harm; whereas, in other

countries, the abuse is pretty sure to be at the expense of a very great majority.

The liberals of Europe (the term *Whig* is going fast out of fashion in England, where it means no more than a modified aristocrat, or a liberal of the last century,) complain that Americans do them as much harm with their tongues, as the institutions of the country do good by their example.

The disposition to respect the sayings and opinions of England, leads us to credit, with a dangerous facility, the audacious charges that the agents of her hostile institutions bring against our own. We appear, in the eyes of others, like a people who do not more than half believe in the evidence of our own facts; and who are not sincere in our own professions. This is one of the reasons that Europe fancies we are living under a violent and rude democracy, which compels the wise and good to submit to its dictation, under the penalty of losing life and property. It is a common impression in Europe that this country is rent by civil wars and violence.

In the Finance Controversy the truth was entirely on our side, as subsequent investigation has triumphantly established. The French

government, or, to speak more properly, its writers, announced their intention to send to this country for documents to prove us in the wrong ; and it is understood at Paris that they have abandoned the design, under a conviction that the facts are against them. And yet, what portion of our *doctrinaires* espoused our cause, which was in effect the cause of freedom ? At Paris, I believe, much the larger portion of our countrymen were against us. Mr. Rives,* the minister, was openly cited by the French premier, in the Chamber of Deputies, as being of that opinion ; the Secretary of Legation, I have it in proof, was also against us ; and it has been seen that Mr. Harris, the gentleman who was afterwards named to be Chargé d'Affaires, actually wrote a letter against us, which the *juste milieu* caused to be printed in an extra number of the “ *Revue Britannique*. ” These gentlemen had a certain right to their convictions, certainly ; but if their course was in any manner influenced by a wish to propitiate the French government, the public

* It is due to this gentleman to say, that he affirms M. Perier quoted him wrongfully ; but he was quoted, and his opinion was triumphantly cited against us in all the ministerial journals, and, to the best of my knowledge, the statement is uncontradicted to this hour.

will judge between me and them. If they had political effect in view, the high and honourable condition of our relations with France, just at this moment, must be exceedingly flattering to their diplomatic sagacity.

The Prefect of the Loiret, our principal antagonist, frequently referred to certain honourable Americans, (*plusieurs honorables Américains,*) who, he asserts, were too liberal to confound their duty to the truth with their duty to the country, and who were much too wise to believe that national honour and national expenditure were the same thing. These writers, agreeably to his account of the matter, carried their liberality so far as to furnish him with various documents to enable him to prove that we were very wrong. M. Saulnier had the indiscretion to publish one of these documents ; and I believe it was proved, to the satisfaction of every man who took the trouble to read the controversy, that this precious evidence was extracted from a very worthless statistical table that is to be found in the Travels of Captain Basil Hall !

So far as I have been able to ascertain the fact, the opinion at home, among the *doctrinaires*, was also very generally against us in the Finance Question — much the greater part of

these persons having jumped to their conclusions without even knowing the real points that were mooted. There must be something very unsound in the state of public opinion, when so many of what are called the *élite* of a country go off at half-cock against the effects of its own institutions.

I turn from interests like these to myself again with humility and regret. But the purpose of this letter would not be accomplished were I to bring it too abruptly to a close. Still I cannot force myself to the completion of its original design. I did intend, my countrymen, to expose to you the exultation and interested satisfaction with which other nations view this dependence on themselves ; the derision mingled with art with which they play upon the weakness, and the deep design of destroying your growing power and prosperity that lies at the bottom of all. This is a duty that will probably fall to some pen better qualified for its performance. But I cannot take my leave of you, without so far trespassing on your good-nature as to venture a kind word at parting.

I came before you, as a writer, when the habit of looking to others for mental aliment most disqualifed the public to receive a native author with favour. It has been said lately,

that I owe the little success I met with at home to foreign approbation. This assertion is unjust to you. Accident first made me a writer, and the same accident gave a direction to the subject of my pen. Ashamed to have fallen into the track of imitation, I endeavoured to repair the wrong done to my own views, by producing a work that should be purely American, and of which love of country should be the theme. This work most of you received with a generous welcome, that might have satisfied any one that the heart of this great community is sound. It was only at a later day, when I was willing more obviously to substitute American *principles* for American *things*, that I was first made to feel how far opinion, according to my poor judgment, still lags in the rear of facts. The American who wishes to illustrate and enforce the peculiar principles of his own country by the agency of polite literature, will, for a long time to come, I fear, find that *his* constituency, as to all purposes of distinctive thought, is still too much under the influence of foreign theories to receive him with favour. It is under this conviction that I lay aside the pen. I am told that this step will be attributed to the language of the journals, and some of my friends are disposed to flatter me.

with the belief that the journals misrepresent the public sentiment. On this head, I can only say that, like others similarly situated, I must submit to any false inferences of this nature to which accident shall give birth. I am quite unconscious of giving any undue weight to the crudities of the daily press; and as to the press of this country in particular, a good portion of the hostility it has manifested to myself is so plainly stamped with its origin, that it never gave me any other uneasiness than that which belongs to the certainty that it must be backed by a strong public opinion, or men of this description would never have presumed to utter what they have. The information on which I act is derived from sources entitled to more respect than the declamations of the press.

I confess I have come to this decision with reluctance, for I had hoped to be useful in my generation, and to have yet done something which might have identified my name with those who are to come after me. But it has been ordered differently. I have never been very sanguine as to the immortality of what I have written, a very short period having always sufficed for my ambition; but I am not ashamed to avow, that I have felt a severe mortification that I am to break down on the

question of distinctive American thought. Were it a matter of more than feeling, I trust I should be among the last to desert my post. But the democracy of this country is in every sense strong enough to protect itself. Here, the democrat is the conservative ; and, thank God ! he has something worth preserving. I believe he knows it, and that he will prove true to himself. I confess I have no great fears of our modern aristocracy.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the foregoing observations were printed, the writer received a communication from General Lafayette, on the subject of the Finance Controversy. In alluding to Mr. Rives, there was a delicacy of saying more than was already public ; but it is due to that gentleman now to say, that General Lafayette, in his name, has informed the French people that Mr. Rives did not say what M. Perier attributed to him. The writer was privy to the fact that Mr. Rives authorised General Lafayette, after some delay, to say this much in the Chambers, and that it was not done on account of the illness and subsequent death of M. Perier. But the point on which Mr. Rives and the writer are at issue is, that the former owed it to the country not

to permit any foreign minister to quote him against the action of its system, without promptly and effectually causing it to be contradicted. General Lafayette was merely authorised to do that which the writer thinks Mr. Rives should have taken care was done with great promptitude. In consequence of the delay or indecision of Mr. Rives, this country presented the singular spectacle of its Secretary of State (Mr. Livingston) calling upon all the governors for facts to disprove the statements of the "*Revue Britannique*," *in the interests of free institutions*, while the American minister at Paris was openly quoted by the French premier, in the Chamber of Deputies, as giving an opinion directly on the other side of the question !

The tone of many Americans in Europe was often the subject of discussion between General Lafayette and the writer. The latter knew that some of his countrymen were among the most bitter deriders of the venerable patriot when in reverses ; and that most of these men crowded about him in the hour of his triumph, in a way even to exclude his true friends. While this country has manifested, at home, its attachment to the venerable patriot, it has not always respected his feelings, or observed that delicacy which was due to his eminent

and disinterested services. The manner in which he has been spoken of in the memoirs of some of his revolutionary contemporaries might have been spared, for, while it could do no good, it has furnished his enemies with materials of attack. There are two sides to every question. The opinion of Mr. Gouverneur Morris is known, and it may be well now to hear what can be said in answer. The following is an extract from General Lafayette's last letter to the writer. It is scarcely necessary to say that the allusion is to Mr. Morris :

“ I have read the memoirs of a distinguished statesman, to whose memory I am bound by the seal of an early friendship, and an affectionate gratitude for the great services he rendered in the most dangerous times to my wife and children ; yet I cannot deny that his communications with the royal family, representing me as an ultra-democrat and republican, even for the meridian of the United States, were among the numerous causes which encouraged them in their opposition to my advice and to the side of public opinion. For my part, I have, in the course of my long life, ever experienced that distance, instead of relaxing, does enliven and brace my sentiments of American pride.”

It is time that this country took more care

that its public agents abroad do not at least *misrepresent* public opinion at home. Neutrality is a duty, but it is not neutrality to compromise a principle when there is a just occasion to speak; nor is it neutrality for an agent of this country to be "*howling against reform*," as the conduct of one was described to the writer by a distinguished English liberal—not a *Whig*. This country owes it to itself to strip the tinsel from the coats of its foreign agents, and to send them abroad in the attire they use at home. Even the half-civilized Turk has too much dignity and self-respect to change his turban for a hat, when he goes to the Tuilleries or St. James's, and why should we for ever bend to the habits of other people? We lose instead of gaining respect by the course, and, in losing respect, we lose influence. A *tailor* at Paris once showed the writer, with a sneer, a coat he had been making for an American agent, with a star as large as the evening planet on each breast, wrought in gold thread! After all, it was but a pitiful imitation of the Toison d'Or and St. Esprit. Simplicity is as much the characteristic of a gentleman as magnificence—in the name of Heaven let us have one or the other!

It was the original intention of the writer to

expose the manner in which the British aristocratic journals, however much opposed to each other on certain points, rally to support their distinctive privileges and national interests. The “Quarterly” and “Edinburgh” usually mix like oil and vinegar; but the latter was selected to assail the writer, because it was believed it passed as a more liberal work in this country. In England, a *Tory* means an oligarchist; a *Whig* is merely an aristocrat; a *Liberal* is one who wishes rational feeling, founded on the base of the people; and a *Radical* is one who is for ever turning everything and beginning *de novo*. The “Edinburgh Review” is strictly Whig, and it has been contending for taking away the close boroughs from my Lords A. B. and C., in order to make a new distribution of power among the few—not the few in *its* sense, for this would be oligarchical; but the *few* in our sense, which is aristocratical. The writer had selected four or five cases of the exceeding ignorance of the “Edinburgh,” in order to show with what instruction it discussed American subjects, but his limits have forced the matter out. There is one case, however, to which he could wish to say a word. Mr. Rush, in his late work on England, observes that men of different parties meet so-

ciablely in society, appearing for the moment to forget their political antipathies. In reviewing this book the critic asks, with a sneer, and in reference to this remark of Mr. Rush, if Mr. Cooper remembers his answer when he was told that Pitt and Fox never met in private life. The writer does not remember his answer, nor does he remember ever to have been before told the circumstance in question. As he is told it now, however, he will make an answer — viz. “That the fact contradicts the statement of Mr. Rush, and that the reviewer does not appear to have had sufficient sagacity to see it.”

On re-examining the Constitution, the writer perceives that the power of each house to keep a separate journal is given rather in the character of an injunction than in that of a concession. Of course he has used the fact improperly as an illustration of his argument, which it does not sustain, while, at the same time, it does not oppose it.

THE END.

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